

A
V I E W
O F
LORD BOLINGBROKE'S
PHILOSOPHY;

In Four LETTERS to a FRIEND.

LETTER the THIRD.

L O N D O N,
Printed for JOHN and PAUL KNAPTON,
in *Ludgate-Street*.

MDCCLV.

A

WILLIAM

OF

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A N
A P O L O G Y
F O R

The Two First Letters:

Which may serve for

An INTRODUCTION

To the *Two Last*.

SOON after the publication of the two first of these Letters, I had the honour of an anonymous advertisement, in the warmest terms of friendship lamenting the displeasure, which my treatment of Lord Bolingbroke had given to that part of the *Public*, where the Advertiser had an opportunity of making his observations.

There was in this friendly notice so many sure marks of the Writer's regard to the Author of the *View*; so much good sense, elegance, and weight of Authority in the composition; and the whole so superior to every thing, but the force of plain and simple truth, that I had as much pleasure in the honour of the monition, as I had real pain for the occasion.

He assures me I shall never know from whence it came: so that when such a Writer will remain unknown, it is as foolish as indecent, to pretend to guess.

Yet I am very confident that a hand so friendly could never intend, by keeping itself out of sight, to deprive me of the means of vindicating my conduct to him, on this occasion. I am rather inclined to think, that he took this way, to oblige me to convey my Apology to him,

him, which he had a right to expect, thro' the hands of *that* Public, which appear to have none : and which yet, I am persuaded, it was his principal concern, I should first satisfy. For I must inform my Reader, that the severe reflexions, I am about to quote, are not so properly his sentiments, as the sentiments of those he is pleased to call the *Public*.

They are introduced in this manner: *I am grieved to the heart to find the reception your two Letters meet with from the World.*—I am very sure he is ; and so, I think, must every good man be ; more for the sake of *that* Public than for mine. For what must an indifferent person think of a Public, by profession, Christians, of so exceeding delicacy as to be less scandalized at three or four bulky volumes of red hot Impiety, because they come from a

Lord, than at the cool contempt of that insult, in a Defender of the Religion of his Country, because he may be a poor priest or an ignoble layman? Will not every impartial man lament with me so abject a condition of things, as that, where *atheistic principles* give less offence to our politeness, than *ill manners*; and where, in good company, you may be better received with the plague-fore upon you, than the itch?

It vexes me (says the anonymous writer) *to hear so many positively deciding that the Writer must be—— by the SCURRILITY and abuse.*— The term is a little strong. But the best is, it is one of those words the *Public* think themselves at liberty to apply indifferently, either to *scandalous abuse* or to *honest reproof*, just as they happen to be disposed to the Author, or the Subject. The equity of this kind of judgment, so readily passed

passed upon Authors, has been sufficiently exemplified in the case of one much more considerable than the Author of the *View*. The Author of the *Divine Legation of Moses* composed a book in support of Revelation: and sensible that the novelty of his argument would give the alarm, and bring down whole bands of Answerers upon him, he did all he could to invite fair quarter. He publickly engaged that a candid, ingenuous Adversary should never repent him of his civility. Answerers, as he foresaw, arose in abundance: but not one who treated him with common good manners. Of about a hundred of these writers, One or two, and no more, he thought fit to answer; and, (who can wonder?) without much ceremony. This was in the heat of controversy; when his resentments were fresh, and the injury aggravated

by every circumstance of malice and *scurrility*. Since that time, for many years together, he has seen them write on, in the very manner they began; and without any other marks of resentment, than a contemptuous silence. Yet for all this, he could not escape the character of a *scurrilous and abusive* Writer. It was in vain to appeal to his provocations then, or to his forbearance ever since.

But to return to the Author of the *View*. He was detected, it seems, by his *scurrility and abuse*. Surely, there must be some mistake; and his Lordship's dirt is imputed to him. The Author of the *View* seems to be in the case of a Scavenger, (his enemies, I hope, will not take offence at the comparison) who may not indeed be overclean while at such kind of work; but it would be hard to impute that stink
to

to him, which is not of his making, but removing.

The Letters are universally read; and it is almost universally agreed that Lord Bolingbroke deserved any treatment from you, both as a man personally ill used by him, and a member of that ORDER, WHICH HE HAS TREATED IN THE LIKE MANNER:—

In a Law of Vespasian, we read, *Non oportere maledici Senatoribus; remaledici civile, fasque est.* And the equity of it my anonymous Friend seems to allow. But I will claim no benefit from the Authority of Vespasian, nor even from that which I more reverence, my kind Monitor's. The truth is, that nothing personal once entered into my thoughts while I was writing those two letters. Had that been the case, it would rather have been the subject of my vanity, than resentment. For nothing is more glorious

glorious than for an obscure writer of these dark and cold days, to find himself treated in the same manner with the greatest and most famous of the golden Ages of antient and modern Literature.

— *But* (says the anonymous letter) *it may dishonour a Gentleman and a Clergyman to give him that treatment he deserved, especially after his death. It is falling into the VERY FAULT so justly objected to him: every body would have applauded your selecting those instances of his railing, arrogance, and abuse, had not you followed his example.* — This Public then takes it for granted, that treating a licentious Writer as he deserves, may *dishonour a Gentleman and a Clergyman.* Here, I think, a distinction is to be made; where the thing concerns only the civil interests of particulars, a *Gentleman* has but little provocation for unusual severity of language,

language, and less for personal reflexion. But where the highest of our religious interests are attacked, the interests not of this man, nor of that; not of this Community, or the other; but of our common Nature itself; and where the People are appealed to, and invited to judge, there, I think, every *Gentleman*, who loves his Religion and his Country, should take the quarrel on himself, and repel the insult with all his vigour.

“ When TRUTH or VIRTUE an affront
 “ endures,
 “ Th’ affront is mine, my Friend, and
 “ should be yours.

The manners of a *Clergyman*, if they are to be distinguished from those of a *Gentleman*, consist in Zeal for God, and Charity towards Man. The occasion will sometimes call out one, sometimes the other: they
 may

may be exerted separately, but never at one another's expence. When they are so, all goes wrong, for they are made by Nature to act together for the common good: As in the case before us, I presume to say, a zeal for God is the greatest Charity to Man.

Now when Doctrines of that kind, which the *View of L. Bolingbroke's Philosophy* exposes, rise to their extreme, not to confute them in terms either of horror or ridicule, for fear of transgressing the civil maxims of politeness, would be like that *Dean*, the Poet speaks of, who scrupled to mention *Hell* before his audience at Court.

If then, amongst the Christian duties, there be, on some occasions, a force to be exerted to repel the Insulters of Religion, as well as, on others, a patience to be observed, in compassion to the simply

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ply erroneous ; and that this before us was not the time ; I desire to know when that time comes ? When men are sincere in their mistakes, after a diligent and candid search ; when the subject is of small moment, such as the mode of discipline, the measure of conformity, or a distinction in Metaphysics ; the mistaken, and even the perverse should be treated with tenderness. But when the avowed end of a Writer is the destruction of Religion in all its forms ; when the means he employs, are every trick of prevarication, and ill faith, and every term of scurrility and abuse ; when, to use the expression of Cicero, *est inter nos non de terminis, sed de tota possessione contentio*, Then a practised calmness, and affected management, look like betraying the cause we are intrusted to defend ; or, what is almost as ill, like defend-
ing

ing it in that way which may turn most to our own advantage. As when, in questions of the greatest moment, we comply with this *fashionable indifference*, or flatter the *indifference* into a Virtue, while we should have striven to rekindle the dying sparks of Religion by a vigorous collision with its more hardened Enemies.

Men who have had Christianity indeed at heart have never been disposed, in capital cases like this, to spare or manage the Offenders. When the incomparable STILLINGFLEET undertook to expose the enormity of the Court of Rome, in turning the *dispensation of the word* into a lucrative trade, he prosecuted the controversy with so much vigour of style and sentiment as to be called by those who found themselves affected by it, *Buffoon* and *Comedian*. And of late, when a learned person
had,

had, with just indignation, exposed the horrid enormities of the *Moravian Brethren*, he received this answer for his pains, to be sure, equally apt and satisfactory, *The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men; in meekness instructing those who oppose themselves.* Without question, debauched and impious men would be much at their ease, when, secure from the resentment of the *Magistrate*, they find they have nothing to fear from the indignation of the *Learned*.

But this leads me to another consideration, which may further justify the Author of the *View*, in the account he has given of this atrocious Enemy of RELIGION and SOCIETY.

The English Government, secure in the divinity of that Religion which it hath established, and jealous of that Liberty which at so much

much expence it hath procured, with a becoming consciousness of the superiority of Truth, hath thought fit to suffer this, and many other writings, (tho' none so criminal in the *manner*,) to pass thro' the Press, into the hands of the People: Writings, in which not only the Institutions of positive and national Worship have been insulted, but likewise those very PRINCIPLES OF NATURAL RELIGION, which hitherto have been esteemed the first bond of civil Society, as being those only which can enforce obedience for conscience sake. A bond, which no Nation under heaven but our own will ever suffer to be publicly brought in question: because no Nation besides has an equal confidence in *Truth*, and an equal Zeal for *Liberty*.

But do flagitious Writers therefore become more sacred or respectable

able for this impunity? On the contrary, is there not the greater need that those evils, which the Public cannot redress, should at least be opposed and checked by a private hand? Why do the civil Laws of all other Nations interfere to punish these offenders, but to prevent the mischiefs their writings do amongst the Populace? Why are not these Laws *put in execution* here, but from the experience, or, at least, from a foresight, that a recourse to them has been, or may prove, injurious to public Liberty? However, the *end*, we see, is important, tho' *these means* may seem incommodious. Nothing is left then, but to employ others. What they are, the very case points out to us. The mischief these Writers do amongst the People is by their credit with them. If this credit be undeserved, the way lies open for the Defender of Religion

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ligion to lessen it, either by tragical complaints or Ridicule. The Author of the *View* chose the latter. He thought it more effectual; for now a days, Folly discredits more than Impiety: He thought it more generous; for he had no design of bringing in the Magistrate to second his arguments. Nor is he one of those impertinents who are for directing Authority, or think there is any need of such as him,

“ To virtue’s work to urge the tardy Hall,

“ Or goad the Prelate slumb’ring in his Stall.

He rather thinks it becomes him to follow their example. The Convocation, in their late address to his Majesty, *lament the depravity of our times, evidenced beyond all former examples, by the publication of writings which strike at the very vitals of all Religion and shake the foundations of civil Government.* Yet they are so far

far from throwing the scandal on the State, or calling out upon the civil Magistrate, that, as if they even respected the slander of their Enemies, *they engage themselves to his Majesty to exert themselves to the utmost, to maintain the honour of our most holy faith.* Let no one therefore take offence, that a private man has adventured to lend his hand to what the whole body of the Clergy has, with so much glory to themselves, engaged to support.

But his Lordship's *death* is a further objection to the manner in which he is treated. Had these *Essays* been published during his life, and had the Author of the *View* deferred his remarks upon them, in expectation of this good time, the censure might appear to have its weight. But what shall we say, if his Lordship was publicly invited to give *his Philosophy* to

the world, by the promise of a speedy answer? If a Writer's death may screen his Works from the treatment they would deserve in his life time, he has a very effectual way to secure both his Person and his Principles, from disgrace. Yet, where this is mentioned as an aggravation, it is confessed that, in these posthumous Works, published by his Lordship's direction, the Author of the *View* is abused in the grossest terms. Now what is said to the discredit of a living Writer, especially by one of his Lordship's Authority in politics and letters, might prove a substantial injury: The harm to a dead Writer is but fantastic. — This is only said to shew, that, had the Author of the *View* retaliated, as he never had it in his thoughts to do, the return had been still much short of the provocation.

But

But He commits the VERY FAULT *objected to Lord Bolingbroke — and in selecting the instances of his railing and arrogance he follows his Lordship's* EXAMPLE. — This would be weighed. Lord Bolingbroke has, in the most contemptuous manner, reviled almost all the Wise and Virtuous of antient and modern times. He has railed at the primitive Saints, the modern Doctors, the whole body of the Christian Clergy; and, in a word, the whole race of Mankind; which, ever since Religion came amongst them, deserve to be considered in no other light than as one great aggregate of Lunatics. He has abused *Moses* and *Paul*; he has ridiculed the SON, and blasphemed the FATHER. Here is another Writer, *who by his scurrility and abuse is judged no other than* — and what has he done? *He has fallen into the same fault, and followed his example.*

What, has he likewise *railed* at all the Good, the Virtuous, and the Pious? Has he likewise had the *arrogance* to say, that the World was one great Bedlam? Has he likewise blasphemed his Creator and Redeemer? Alas, no. Two such Writers are too much for any one age! And yet, what less can justify Men in saying, that the Author of the *View* has *fallen into the same fault with Lord Bolingbroke, and followed his example?* All he has done is occasionally telling the World, That his Lordship, once in his life, was for bringing in *Popery* and the *Pretender*; and is now for introducing *Naturalism*, a more specious form of Atheism: that he is overrun with passion and prejudice: that he understands little or nothing of the subjects he handles, which yet he treats with sovereign contempt: that his learning is superficial, his reasoning
sophi-

sophistical, and his declamation inflated: and that, if ever Religion should happen to regain its hold on the People, his *Philosophic* works will run the hazard of being applied to the lowest and *vilest uses*. This is the substance of what he has said. And if this be falling into the *same fault, and following his Lordship's example*, the Author of the *View*, for ought I can perceive, must be content to plead guilty.

But we will suppose, the *manner* of writing, and not the *subject* of the Work, is here to be understood. Is the railing at all mankind, at all Religion, at God Almighty himself, but of the same species of writing with His, who shall tell the world, that this Railer was once as much an Enemy to the *Civil*, as now to the *Religious* Constitution of his Country; that he reasons ill, and that he declaims worse? Did the

politeness of a *Gentleman* or a *Cler-*
gyman require, under pain of be-
 ing matched with his Lordship in
railing and *arrogance*, that, after
 the Author of the *View* had quot-
 ed all his Lordship's horrors in *prin-*
ciple and *expression*, he should have
 added, " This, good People, is the
 " FIRST PHILOSOPHY, which is to
 " be substituted amongst us, in the
 " place of RELIGION. But take
 " me along with you ; Tho' this,
 " indeed, be the bane and poison
 " of your HOPES ; tho' it reduce
 " humanity to the most disconso-
 " late and forlorn condition, by de-
 " priving it of the MORAL Ruler of
 " the World, and by dissolving all
 " the ties of CIVIL Government ;
 " Yet, Courage ! The Author was a
 " man of distinguished quality, of
 " uncommon abilities, and of infi-
 " nite politeness. His great talents
 " for *Business* enabled him to see
 " what

“ what was best for Society ; his
 “ penetration into *Philosophic* mat-
 “ ters, what was best for human
 “ Nature ; and his profound know-
 “ ledge of *Divinity*, what was best
 “ for Both. He had governed
 “ States ; he had instructed Kings ;
 “ and this last great Book of Wif-
 “ dom was the result of all his skill
 “ and experience.”

All this, indeed, I might have
 said : and, it is probable, a good
 deal of it I should have said, had the
 aim of my *View* been to recom-
 mend myself, and to raise a repu-
 tation from the defeat of this migh-
 ty Man. Had this, I say, been my
 aim, the raising the character of an
 adversary who was presently to fall
 by my hand, would hardly have
 been amongst the last of my contri-
 vances. But as I had another pur-
 pose, the preventing the mischiefs
 of his Book, I took the different
 method

method of reducing his Authority its to just value; which, by having been over-rated, had prepared the way for the easy reception of his Opinions amongst a corrupt People.

The Letters, say this Public, (whose sentiments have been so kindly conveyed unto me) purport to be a View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy. They are a view of his life, morals, politics, and conversation. It may be true and just. But that is not the question. Whether he made a good treaty, or wrote the Craftsman, neither concludes for, nor against, the divinity of the Christian Religion.

I readily confess, had Lord Bolingbroke's *Morals* and *Politics* nothing to do with his *religious Principles*, I had acted both an invidious and an idle part to bring in his *Treaties* and his *Craftsmen* into a *View of his Philosophy*. But I held all these
to

to be the various parts of the same System, which had contributed, in support of one another, to produce a Whole. — I can believe he found it for his ease in retirement, to adhere still *closer* to a set of Principles, which having facilitated his Practice, enabled him to bear the retrospect of it: but I am much mistaken if he did not begin the World with his notions of *God* and the *Soul*; hence his rounds of business and amusements.

“ Now all for pleasure; now for Church and
 “ State.

The rest followed in course. For, as Tully observes, *Cum enim DECRETUM proditur, Lex veri rectique proditur: quo a vitio et AMICITIARUM proditioes, et RERUM PUBLICARUM, nasci solent.*

But this is not all. I beg leave to say, there was not only a *close*

connexion between his Principles and his Practice, but that it was necessary to a just defence of Religion against him, to *take notice* of that connexion.

One of his Lordship's pretended purposes, in his Philosophic *Essays*, was to detect the Corruptions which the CLERGY have brought into the Christian Religion: My aim, in the *View*, was to expose a species of Impiety which overturns all Religion.

Consider, how his Lordship proceeded. — Not that I place my justification on his example: that, indeed, would be confirming the charge I am here endeavouring to refute; neither would I insist upon the right of retaliation; for, tho' that be a better plea, it is the last which a Writer for Truth would have recourse to. I quote his Lordship's method, as that which right reason prescribes to all, who undertake to

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detect

detect and lay open error and deceit.

His Lordship's point, as we said, was to shew, that the Clergy had corrupted the purity and simplicity of Religion. It is not my purpose here to inquire with what ingenuity he has represented the Fact, or how justly he has deduced the Consequences, which, he pretends, have risen from it. He has shewn some corruptions; he has imagined more; and dressed up the rest of his catalogue out of his own invention; all which, he most unreasonably offers as a legitimate prejudice against Religion itself. Well, be it so, that the Clergy are convicted of abuse and imposture. The question, which every one is ready to ask, who thinks himself concerned to enquire into the truth of the fact, is, CUI BONO? What end had the Clergy to serve by these corruptions? His Lordship
thinks

thinks the question reasonable; and is as ready to reply, That they had a wicked antichristian Tyranny to impose upon the necks of Mankind: in order to which, they contrived to introduce such kind of corruptions into Religion as best tended to pervert men's understandings, to intimidate their wills, and to impress upon their consciences, an awe and reverence for their spiritual Masters. The answer is satisfactory, and shews the use of this method in detecting error. With his rhetorical exaggerations, with the extension of his list of corruptions, with his ridiculous inferences, I have, at present, no concern.

Now, as the Author of the *Essays* had a tyrannical Hierarchy to unmask; so, the Author of the *View* had a declared, an impious, an outrageous Enemy of all Religion to expose. His Lordship had publicly
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and openly, in his respectable Character of a NOBLEMAN, a STATESMAN, and a PHILOSOPHER, declared it to be all a Cheat, supported only by Knaves and Madmen ; which indeed was a large Party, since, by his own account, it takes in the whole body of Mankind. His Lordship had been held up to the People as an *all accomplished* Personage, full and complete in every endowment of civil and moral Wisdom : And the enchanting vehicle in which his triumphant character was conveyed, had made it received, even against the information of their senses. Now a Public thus prejudiced, would, on such a representation of his Lordship's religious principles as the *Essays* contain, and the *View* collects together, be ready to ask " could so sublime a Genius be disposed to deprive himself, and us, of all those blessings which Religion promises, had

had he not discovered, and been perfectly assured, that the whole was a delusion; and therefore in pity to Mankind, had broke the Charm, which kept them from seeing their *present good*, in fond expectation of a recompence in the shadowy regions of *futurity*? We say, *deprive himself*, for he seems sufficiently vexed, and sensible of his disappointment, when waked from the pleasing dream of a life to come. *There is no one thought* (says his Lordship) *which soothes my mind like this: I encourage my IMAGINATION to pursue it, and am heartily afflicted when ANOTHER FACULTY of the intellect comes boisterously in, and WAKES me from so pleasing a dream, if it be a dream*[1].”—In this manner I supposed, that they, for whose use the *View* was intended, were disposed to argue; I mean that part

[1] xliii Letter to Swift in Pope's Works
Vol. ix.

of them who yet retain any concern for another life; and who have not thrown off, together with their Guides, all thoughts of their journey thither. Now, against so dangerous a prejudice, the Defender of Religion was to provide. He was first to remove their delusion concerning Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophic Character; and to shew, that he had none of those talents of Reasoning, Learning, or Philosophy which are necessary to qualify a man in deciding on this important question. But this opposed only one half of their prejudices. They could by no means be brought to think that so good a Man, so benevolent a Citizen, so warm a friend to Mankind, as his Lordship's *Essays* represent him, could be lightly willing to forego that great bond of Society, that great support of humanity, RELIGION. The advocate
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of Religion therefore, unless he would betray his cause, was obliged to shew, that the Social light, in which his Lordship puts himself, and in which he had been placed by his poetical Friend, was a false one; that his moral virtues were an exactly tally to his religious principles; and *public* virtue (according to his favourite *Cicero*) embracing and comprehending all the private, *omnes omnium Charitates PATRIA una complexa est*, it was to the purpose of such a defence, to shew, that his Lordship had been a BAD CITIZEN. Now tho' Religion has the strongest allurements for the Good and Virtuous, it has its terrors, and those very dreadful too, for the Wicked: Who, in such circumstances, have but this for their relief, Either to part with their Vices, or their Religion. All the world knows His Lordship's choice. He himself tells us, it was
made

made on the conviction of Reason ; others think, by the inducement of his Passions. The World is to determine ; but they should judge with a knowledge of the case. And this, the Author of the *View* presented to them, in answer to the latter part of these popular prejudices ; which would not suffer them to conceive any other cause but rational conviction, that could induce any man in his senses to part with the *soothing* consolation of futurity, as his Lordship is pleased to call it.

And now, I suppose, every candid Reader will allow, at least I am sure the candid Writer of the anonymous Letter will allow, that his Lordship's *morals* and *politics* come within the *view of his Philosophy* ; where the question is of the TRUTH or FALSHOOD of Religion ; and of his Lordship's AUTHORITY concerning it.

To sum up this Argument: His Lordship descants on *Romish Superstition*; the Author of the *View*, on *his Lordship's Philosophy*: Not to shew for what *end* the one was established, or by what causes the other was produced, is relating Facts without head or tail; which the Writer on *the use of history* justly throws into the class of unprofitable things: and therefore his Lordship, speaking of the corruptions brought by the Clergy, into religion, accounts for them by a spirit of Dominion; and the Author of the *View* speaking of his Lordship's *religious principles*, reminds the Reader of his *moral practice*; but so far only as was to the purpose, and was notorious to all mankind.

Lord Bolingbroke (says this Public) *deserved every thing of you; but who are those friends and admirers of his, whom you represent applauding all he wrote; whom you bring in unnecessarily*

rily upon many occasions. I dare say, they are very few. You had better have named them.

As exceptionable as that, perhaps, might have been, I should certainly have chose to do so, had I conceived it possible for the Reader to understand, by such *friends and admirers*, any of those few illustrious Persons, whom Lord Bolingbroke's politeness, his distance from business, his knowledge of the world, and, above all, his ambition to be admired, occasionally brought into his acquaintance; and who gave dignity and reputation to his retirement. Several of these, I have the honour to know, and the pleasure of being able to inform those who do not, that they were so far from being in the principles of his *Philosophy*, that some of them did not so much as know what they were; and those who did, let him understand, how much they detested them.

Which very well explains the disposition of his Will concerning those papers, in which his *Philosophy* is contained. And if it was no more than for the sake of this fair opportunity of explaining myself, I could readily excuse all the hard thoughts *this public* seems to have entertained of me. As to the *friends and admirers, who applauded all he wrote*, I meant those who persuaded him to change his mind, and give those *Essays* to the Public, which he had over and over declared were only for the secret inspection of a Few. And he seems willing the World should know to whom it was indebted for this benefit, by his letting those places in his *Essays* stand, where he declares his own opinion of their *unfitness* for general communication.

But what grieves and hurts your friends most (says this Public) *is still behind. Poor Pope did not deserve*

to be treated by you with so much cruelty, contempt, and injustice. In a work where Lord Bolingbroke is represented as a Monster, hated both of God and Man, why is Pope always and unnecessarily brought in, only as his friend and admirer? Why as approving of, and privy to all that was addressed to him? Why should he, who had many great talents, and amiable qualities, be described only by the slighting Epithets of tuneful and poetical — You say, Pope announced the glad tidings of all these things. In what work can he be said to have done it, except in his Essay on Man? This is throwing a reflexion on the excellent Commentary on that Essay.

Who it was that treated poor Pope with cruelty, contempt, and injustice, Lord Bolingbroke, or the Author of the View, let my Censurers judge; and, by their freedom from passion and resentment, at a time when a

friend would be most *hurt*, they appear perfectly qualified to judge impartially.

When, on his publication of the *Patriot King*, Lord Bolingbroke did indeed use the memory of poor Pope, with exceeding *contempt*, *cruelty*, and *injustice*, by representing him, in the *Advertisement* to the Public, as a busy ignorant interpolator of his works, a mercenary betrayer of his trust, a miserable, who bartered all the friendship of his Philosopher and Guide, for a little paltry gain, Who was it then that manifested his *hurt* and *grief* for poor Pope? Was it *this Public*? Or was it the *Author of the Letter to Lord Bolingbroke on that occasion*?

But in what consists the *contempt*, *cruelty*, and *injustice* of the *View*? The *contempt* is in the *slighting epithets of tuneful and poetical*: the *Cruelty* in giving instances of Pope's unbound-

unbounded admiration of Lord Bolingbroke; and the *injustice* in saying that he denounced the *glad tidings of the first Philosophy*, and that he approved and was *privy to all that was addressed to him*.

My using the epithets of *tuneful and poetical*, in speaking of a man who had many superior qualities, was, I humbly conceive, well suited to the occasion. It is where I speak of Pope as an idolatrous admirer of Lord Bolingbroke: and they aptly insinuate what I would have them mean, that, Judgment had there nothing to do; but all was to be placed to the friendly extravagance of a poetical *imagination*. Who could fairly gather more from it, than that my intention was to place his Lordship's *gratitude*, and Mr. Pope's *idolatry* side by side, in order to their setting off one another. But *cruelty* is added to contempt, in the *instances* I give of Pope's unbounded

bounded admiration. I am verily persuaded, had Pope lived to see Lord Bolingbroke's returns of friendship, as well in his Lordship's usual conversation, as in the *advertisement to the Patriot King*, he would have been amongst the first to have laughed at his own delusions, when this treatment of him had once broken and dissolved the charm; at least, he would have been ready to laugh with a friend, who should chuse to turn them into ridicule. For he held this to be amongst the offices of friendship, to laugh at your friend's foibles till you brought him to laugh with you,

“ Laugh at your Friends; and if your Friends

“ be sore,

“ So much the better, you may laugh the

“ more.

as implying, that, while they continued *sore*, they continued to stand in need of this friendly surgery.

My *injustice* consists in supposing *Pope was privy to all that was addressed to him.* A great injustice indeed, had I so insinuated, I, who with greater certainty than most men, can affirm, that he was privy to nothing of the secret, but the design of the address, and the preliminary discourses. So little did Pope know of the principles of the *first Philosophy*, that when a common acquaintance, in his last illness, chanced to tell him of a late conversation with Lord Bolingbroke, in which his Lordship took occasion to deny God's moral attributes, as they are commonly understood, he was so shocked that he rested not till he had asked Lord Bolingbroke whether his informer was not mistaken? His Lordship assured him, he was; of which, Pope with great satisfaction informed his Friend. Under this ignorance of his Lordship's real sentiments it was, that

that Pope gave easy credit to him, when he vapoured, that *he would demonstrate all the common Metaphysics to be wicked and abominable* [2]. Which leads me to that part of the charge, where it is said, I could only mean the *ESSAY ON MAN*, by the *glad tidings of the first Philosophy*. I meant a very different thing; and alluded to the following passages in his *LETTERS*. *Do not laugh at my gravity, but permit me to wear the beard of a Philosopher, till I pull it off, and make a jest of it myself. 'Tis just what my Lord Bolingbroke is doing with METAPHYSICS. I hope you will live to see, and stare at the learned figure he will make on the same shelf with Locke and Malebranche* [3]. And again, *Lord Bolingbroke is voluminous, but he is voluminous only to destroy Volumes. I shall not live, I fear, to see that work printed* [4]. Where,

[2] *Bolingbroke to Swift*, Letter xlviii. Vol. ix.

[3] *Letters* lxxi. Vol. ix. [4] Letter lxxiii.

by the way, his fancy that these METAPHYSICS were designed for the public; shews he knew nothing of the contents. This then was what I meant: The *Essay on Man* I could not mean. For in the 80th page of the *View*, I make the fundamental doctrines of that *Poem* and his Lordship's *Essays* to be directly opposite to one another. “ *Mr. POPE's Essay on Man* is a real vindication of Providence against Libertines and Atheists— Lord BOLINGBROKE's *Essays* are a pretended vindication of Providence against an imaginary confederacy between Divines and Atheists—The Poet directs his Argument against Atheists and Libertines in support of RELIGION; The Philosopher against Divines in support of NATURALISM: and the success is answerable. Pope's argument is manly, systematical, and convincing: Lord Bolingbroke's

“ broke’s, confused, prevaricating,
 “ and inconsistent.”

Thus I have explained, in the best way I am able, my reasons for speaking of Pope in a manner which gives offence. But what shall we say, if this air of negligence to his memory was assumed, the better to conceal the Author of an anonymous Epistle? The motive sure was allowable; tho’ the project was without effect: for *this Public* has positively decided, that *the Author must be — by the scurrility and abuse.*

But, continues the Censurer, *Had you pursued the advantage you have ingeniously taken from an expression in one of Pope’s Letters, to have shewn that Pope differed from Bolingbroke where he was in the wrong; that he not only condemned but despised the futility of his reasoning against Revelation; that where he was right Pope improved but never servilely copied*
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his Ideas, you would have done honour to your Friend and yourself: you would have served the cause of Religion: you would have discredited Lord Bolingbroke the more by the contrast—

Now all this, in the *fourth Letter*, I have done: And the Reader will find it in its place. In the mean time, every body might see I was ready, on a fit occasion, to do it, by the passage quoted just above, from the *second*, where *Pope is honoured, and Lord Bolingbroke the more discredited by the contrast.*

But I must not leave this head without taking notice of one expression in the censure. It is said, that the *View* REPRESENTS *L. Bolingbroke as a Monster hated both of God and Man.* The expression had been juster, if, instead of this, the writer had said, *from the View it may be collected; because, whatever*
 ideas

ideas of his Lordship may arise in men's minds on a perusal of the *View*, they arise from his Lordship's own words, which are faithfully quoted: What the Author of the *View* adds, is only a little wholesome raillery, which can present the Reader with no idea but what (in the opinion of *Pope*) arises from every fruitless attempt of Impiety.

“Heav'n still with *laughter* the vain toil

“surveys,

“And buries madmen in the heaps they raise.

That the Author of the *View* assisted in the dressing up so strange a sight, as *a Monster hated both by God and Man*, was very far from his intention. He made a scruple of accompanying his Lordship's quotations with those reflexions of serious indignation which such a Scene of horrors naturally suggest, lest he should be thought to aim at something more than critical animadversion.

version. He therefore generously endeavoured to turn the public attention from the *horror*, to the *ridicule*, of the *first Philosophy*, and to get his Lordship well laughed at, as being persuaded that when the Public is brought to that temper, its resentment seldom rises to extremes.

Men had better speak out, and say, the Author of the *View* ought to have represented L. Bolingbroke as neither *detestable*, nor *ridiculous*. He could have wished, that his sense of honour and duty would have permitted him so to do. The Author of the *View* is no Fana-
tic or Enthusiast, and perhaps less of a Bigot than either. Yet there are times and occasions when the soberest thinker will confess, that the interests of Particulars should give way to those of the Public. It is true, there are others, when politeness, civil prudence, and the pri-

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vate

vate motives of Friendship, ought to determine a man, who is to live in the world, to comply with the state and condition of the times; and even to chuse the worse, instead of the better method of doing good. But my misfortune was that this did not appear to be one of those occasions, in which, when I had explained the Doctrines and Opinions of an erroneous Writer, I could leave them with this reflexion: “ These are the
 “ writer’s notions on the most im-
 “ portant points which regard hu-
 “ man happiness. They are indeed
 “ very singular and novel. But then
 “ consider, the Writer was a great
 “ man, and high in all the attain-
 “ ments of Wisdom; therefore weigh
 “ well and reverendly, before you
 “ condemn what I have here exposed
 “ to your Judgment.” But had I said this, would it have secured me from OFFENCE? The thing of all, to be most dreaded by those who know
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the world. Would it not rather have furnished *another* handle to the same Censurers, of making me a confederate in his guilt, only a little better disguised. This would not have been the first time I had been so served, when endeavouring to avoid offence.

And yet there was but one of these three ways; either to laugh, to declaim, or to say nothing. I chose the *first*, as what I fancied least obnoxious; in which, however, I was mistaken;—and as most likely to do good; in which, I hope, I am not mistaken.

The only harm L. Bolingbroke can do, whose reputation of parts and wisdom had been raised so high, is amongst the PEOPLE. His objections against Religion are altogether of the popular kind, as we feel by the effects they have had, when used by their original Authors, long

before his Lordship honored them with a place in his *Essays*. What then was he to do, whose business it was to put a speedy stop to the mischief, and neither to palliate the doctrines, nor to compliment the Author of them, but to give a true and succinct representation of his *System*, in a popular way; to make a right use of that abundance, which the ESSAYS and FRAGMENTS afforded, to shew that his Lordship's *Principles* were as foolish as they were wicked; and that the *arguments* used in support of them were as weak as they were bold and overbearing: that he was a pretender in matters of Learning and Philosophy; and knew just as much of the genius of the Gospel, as of that pretended corruption of it, which he calls, *artificial Theology*. This I imagined the only way to reach his Lordship's AUTHORITY, on which
all

all depended; and then the very weakest effort of ridicule would be able to do the rest. These were my motives for the method I took; and whatever impropriety there may be in divulging them in a way that tends to defeat their end, it should, I think, be laid to the account of those who made this explanation necessary.

I have been the longer on this matter as it will serve for an answer to what follows.

Lord Bolingbroke (says this Public) *is so universally and so justly obnoxious to all sorts and ranks of people, that, from regard to him, no body cares how he is treated, but be assured your manner has destroyed all the merit of the work.*----To the manner I have said enough. The candid Reader, I am sure, will allow me to add a word or two *Concerning the effect of an unacceptable manner, in a work of public service.* It had, till of late,

been always esteemed matter of merit to do a general good, tho' the *manner* of doing it might not be so readily approved. But we are now become so delicate and fastidious, that it is the *manner of doing*, even in things of the highest importance, which carries away all the praise. And yet, this false delicacy on a question of no less moment than Whether we shall have any Religion or none at all, seems as ridiculous, as it would be in a Great man to take offence at an officious neighbour for saving his falling Palace, by a few homely props near at hand, when he should have considered of a support more conformable to the taste and general style of Architecture, in my Lord's superb piece; or to find him disconcerted by that charitable hand, which should venture to pull his Grandeur by head and shoulders out of his flaming apartment.

But

But in these suppositions I grant much more than in reason I ought. I suppose the public taste, which the *manner* in question has offended, is founded in Nature; whereas 'tis the creature of Fashion, and as shifting and fantastic as its Parent. TRUTH, which makes the *matter* of every honest man's enquiry, is eternal; but the *manner suited to the public taste*, is nothing else than conformity to our present passions, or sentiments; our prejudices, or dispositions. When the truths or the practices of Religion have got possession of a People, then a warmth for its interests, and an abhorrence of its Enemies, become the public taste; and men expect to find the zeal of an Apostle in every defender of Religion: But when this awful Power has lost its hold, when, at best, it floats but in the brain, and comes not near the heart, then, if you expect

to be read with approbation, you must conform your *manner* to that polite indifference, and easy unconcern, with which we see every other trial of skill plaid before us.

Nor is this the worst. It has brought in use a new kind of political Arithmetic, which proceeds upon very unexpected methods of calculation; where the lesser sum of an *unacceptable manner* shall do more than strike off the infinitely larger of *important services*; it shall turn them to demerit: while a long accumulation of well ranged *inoffensive cyphers* may be made to rise to millions.

Indeed (says this Public) *it*, [your manner] *has furnished your enemies with a handle to do you infinite mischief. Your COLD friends lament and make the worst sort of excuse, by imputing it to a temper contracted from the long habit of drawing blood in controversy;*

troverſy; Your WARM friends are out of countenance, and forced to be ſilent, or turn the diſcourſe.

Would not any one by this imagine, that the Author of the *View*, after much pretended oppoſition to Infidelity, was at laſt detected of being in combination with it, and all along artfully advancing its intereſts; that the mask had unwarily dropt off, and that he ſtood confeſſed what Lord Bolingbroke has been pleaſed to call him, *an Advocate for civil and eccleſiaſtical Tyranny*. At leaſt, no one would imagine, that this *handle* afforded to his enemies of doing him infinite miſchief, was no other than the treating the Author of the moſt impious and inſulting book that ever affronted public juſtice, as a bad reaſoner and a worſe Philoſopher, whoſe VANITY led him to abuſe every *Name* of Learning, and his FEAR to diſcredit every *mode* of Religion.

These *cold Friends* however acted their parts as usual ; the great secret of which is, the well poisoning an apology, or, as the anonymous writer better expresses it, *making the very worst excuse they can find*. But here, tho' they aimed well, they over-shot themselves. This compliment of *drawing blood in controversy*, the Author of the *View* takes to himself with great complacency. For his *Controversy* having always lain in a quarter very remote from political altercation, either for or against Ministers or Factions ; and on no less a question than the truth and honour of Religion, with Infidels and Bigots, the *drawing blood* shews him to have been *in earnest*, which is no vulgar praise. It would be but poor commendation, I ween, of a brave English Veteran who had seen many a well-fought field for Liberty and his Country, to say, he never *drew blood* ;

blood; tho' such a compliment might recommend the humanity of a Champion at Hockley hole. When the situation of the times have engaged two learned Men, at the head of opposite parties, to engage in a mock fight, and play a prize of disputation, with the reward placed, and often divided, between them, it is no wonder if there should be much ceremony, and little *blood shed*. But the Author of the *View* writes for no Party, or party-opinions; he writes for what he thinks the TRUTH; and, in the point in question, for the CLERGY, its Ministers; both of which, (by good fortune, being yet of public Authority) he thinks himself at liberty to support, tho' it be by *drawing blood* from premeditated impiety, from low envy, or malicious bigotry; which, he apprehends, are not to be subdued by management or a feigned attack. Yet

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as much *in earnest* as he is, he should be ashamed to turn the same arms against simple error, against a naked adversary, or against the man who had thrown away his weapons; or, indeed, against any but him who stands up boldly to defy Religion; or, what is almost as bad, to discredit it, by false and hypocritic zeal for the corruptions which have crept into it. In a word, had I written with any oblique views, and not from a sense of duty, I should have suited the entertainment to the taste of my superiors. For a man must be of a strange complexion indeed, who when he has *conformed to Religion* for his convenience, will scruple to go on and reap the benefit of his compliance, by *conforming to the Fashion*.

So far as to the Author's *cold Friends*. With respect to his *warm* ones, They have not plaid their parts so well; they seem to have given
up

up their Cause too soon. They might have said with truth, and a full knowledge of the case, "That no man was readier than the Author of the *View*, to comply with the temper of the times; and especially with the inclinations of his friends, to whose *satisfaction* he has been ever ready to sacrifice his own inclinations; but, to their *services*, every thing, except his duty and his honour; was he capable of doing that, he would not deserve a virtuous Friend: That probably, he considered the matter in question as one of those excepted cases, where he could hearken to nothing but the dictates of honour, and the duties of his station: that he saw *Religion* insulted, a *moral Governor* defied; *Naturalism*, a species of *Atheism*, openly, and with all the arts of sophistry and declamation, inculcated, and the opposing World insolently branded as a cabal
of

of fools, knaves, and madmen :” They might have said, “That where errors of small consequence are in question, or even great ones, when delivered with modesty and candour, suitable measures are to be observed. But here the impiety and the insult were equally in the extreme :” To which, in the last place, they might have added most of those other considerations which have been urged in the course of this Apology. And had they been so pleased, the defence had not only been better made, but with much more dignity and advantage.

However the Author of the *View* has yet the vanity, amidst all this mortification, to reflect, that there is a very wide difference between *displeasing*, and *the being disapproved* : and that *this very Public*, who complain by the pen of my anonymous Friend, feel that difference.

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The decencies of Acquaintance, habitual impressions, and even the most innocent partialities, might make them uneasy to see Lord BOLINGBROKE exposed to contempt; but their love of the Public, their reverence both for its Civil and Religious interests, will make them pleased to see his PRINCIPLES confuted and exposed. When a noble Roman had in public Senate accused one of the greatest Pests of his age and country, he observed, that the vigour with which he pursued this Enemy of the Republic, made many worthy men uneasy; but he satisfied himself with this reflexion, *tantum ad fiduciam vel metum differt, nolint homines facias, an non probent.*

In a word, my duty to God, to my Country, to Mankind at large, had, as I fancied, called upon me to do what I did, and in the *manner* I have done it. If I have offended any
good

good Man, any friend to my person, or my Cause, it is a sacrifice to Duty, which yet I must never repent of having made, tho' the displeasure of a friend be the severest trial of it. I know what that man has to expect both from *Infidelity* and *Bigotry*, who engages WITHOUT RESERVE in the service of Religion. *Benefacere et malè audire* has always been the lot of such Adventurers. But I have long since taken my party: “Omnia praecepi, atque animo
 “mecum ante peregi. Nec recuso,
 “si ita casus attulerit, luere poenas
 “ob honestissima facta, dum FLA-
 “GITIOSISSIMA ULCISCOR.”

Jan. 4, 1755.

LETTER III.

DEAR SIR,

LET me first claim your thanks for sparing you so long on the chapter of Lord Bolingbroke ; and then ask you, what you now think of this paper Meteor, which so flames and sparkles ; and, while it kept at distance, drew after it the admiring croud ; like a Comet, crossing the celestial Orbs, and traversing, and domineering over the established System ; in the presage of superstitious Divines, denouncing pestilence and ruin to the World beneath ; but in the more philosophic opinion of his followers, re-creating and reviving the driness and sterility of exhausted Nature.

Unde hæc MONSTRA tamen, vel quo de fonte, requiris.

Your love of Mankind makes you see this new Phænomenon with horror. And you ask, Is it for this, that such a torrent of abuse has been poured out upon every private Character, upon every public Order, upon every branch of Learning, upon every System

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2 A VIEW of L. BOLINGBROKE'S
of Philosophy, and upon every Institution
of Religion? They were not poured out at
hazard, for all these things stood in his way:
they were not poured out in vain, for they
are given for *Arguments*; and will, I make
no doubt, be so received. The wise Quin-
tilian, it is true, has observed, *Propriam*
MODERATIONEM, QUÆDAM CAUSÆ *desi-*
derant. And it must be confessed, that if ever
Moderation, and temperance of expression,
became an author, or was well suited to his
discourse, it was when the purpose of his
work, like that of his Lordship's, was to
overturn all ESTABLISHED RELIGION,
founded in the belief of a Sovereign Master,
supremely *just* and *good*; and all ESTA-
BLISHED LEARNING, employed for the de-
fence of such Religion: And, on their ruins,
to erect NATURALISM, instead of real The-
ism, and a FIRST PHILOSOPHY, instead of real
Science. When, I say, a Writer had thought
proper to insult the common sentiments of
Mankind, on points esteemed so essential to
their well being, common policy, as well as
common decency, required, that it should
be done by the most winning insinuation and
address; and not by calling every man, who
would

would not take his system upon trust, MADMAN, KNAVE, FOOL, and BLASPHEMER.

But superior Genius's have been always deemed above the restraint of rules. *Tully* observes, that *ARCESILAS*, fitted by a turbulence of temper, to confound the peace, and overturn the established order of things, had done that mischief in PHILOSOPHY, which *TITUS GRACCHUS* had projected in the REPUBLIC [1]. But his Lordship, prompted by a nobler ambition, would play both parts in their turns, and shine an *Arcefilas* and a *Gracchus* too.

His ill success in business (from which, as he tells us himself, he never desisted, *while he had hopes of doing any good*) forced him to turn his great talents from POLITICS to PHILOSOPHY. But he had not yet mortified that Ambition which was always prompting him to aspire to the head of things: and he carried with him that sufficiency, and those resentments, which had proved so ill suited to the Cabinets of Princes, into the Closet of the Philosopher.

We may add, that he entered upon *Let-*

[1] Tum exortus est, ut in Optima Rep. Ti. Gracchus qui etiam perturbaret, sic Arcefilas, qui *constitutam* Philosophiam everteret.

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ters in an advanced age; and this still further viciated his natural temper by an acquired infirmity, to which, as Tully observes, such late Adventurers are extremely subject. ΟΥΙΜΑΘΕΙΣ *autem homines scis*

QUAM INSOLENTES *sint*: “You know, says he, how INSOLENT those men generally are, who come late to their book.”

But now having given you *my* thoughts of his Lordship's *assuming* temper, it would be unfair not to give you his own; especially as he has been so ingenuous to make no secret of it. He had kept, it seems, ill company; and his *natural candor and modesty* had been hurt by it. But let him tell his own story: “I grow VERY APT TO ASSUME, by conversing so much with ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS, who assume much oftener than they prove [2].”

But whatever causes concurred to form this temper, certain it is, that his *contempt of others* was become so habitual to him, that it operates where no reasonable provocation can be assigned. I have shewn you, in my first Letter, at what a rate, his disgust to the *Morals*, and his aversion to the *Sanctions*, of the GOSPEL, disposed him to treat all who had

[2] Vol. iv. p. 504.

contributed to propagate, or to support, *Revelation*. But how the honest PAGANS of antiquity had offended, who, many of them, believed no more of a *future state* than himself, is a little hard to conceive.

Yet PYTHAGORAS, he tells us, was a turbulent fellow, and a fanatical subverter of States.

Nor did PLATO's *delirious brains* [3] secure him from becoming, on occasion, a poultry cheat, and a mercenary flatterer. For almost all his *Madmen* are *Knaves* into the bargain. But Plato had made himself notorious, by the *blasphemous* title he had given to the *first Cause*, of the FIRST GOOD. So that his Lordship regarded him as at the head of that wicked Sect, who ascribe *moral attributes* to the Deity.

Even SOCRATES, whose glory it was, as Tully assures us, to take PHILOSOPHY out of the clouds, and bring it to dwell amongst cities and men, *substituted* (in his Lordship's opinion) *fantastic*, for *real knowledge* [4]—and entertained and propagated THEOLOGICAL and METAPHYSICAL notions, which are not, most certainly, parts of NATURAL THEOLOGY [5]. We under-

[3] Vol. iv. p. 88. [4] Vol. iv. p. 112. [5] Vol. iv. p. 122.

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stand his Lordship very well. He means a *particular* Providence and a *future* state: the *moral* attributes of the Deity, and the *substantiality* of the Soul. This apparently was *the fantastic knowledge which makes no part of natural theology*.

When these pagan Heroes fare no better, who would be concerned for Church-men? or much disturbed to hear CYPRIAN called a *Liar and a Madman* [6]; JEROM, a *surly, foul-mouthed Bully*; and EPIPHANIUS, an *Idiot*?

But now comes on a difficulty indeed.—PAUL and PLATO bear their crimes in their countenance. The *Gospel of Peace*, he tells us, produced nothing but *Murders*; and the idea of a *first Good* was the occasion of all *evil*. But what had SCIPIO and REGULUS done, to be cashiered of their Dignities? They were neither *artificial Theologers*, nor yet *mad Metaphysicians*; but plain, sober Statesmen. His Lordship's quarrel, we know, is with DIVINITY in all its forms; but he professes to admire the *moral Virtues*. And if there are any of higher eclat than the rest, and in which his Lordship would be more particularly ambitious to shine, they must needs be CHASTITY and GOOD FAITH,

[6] Vol. iv. p. 407.

CUI, *Pudor*, et *Justitiæ* soror
Incorrupta Fides, &c. &c.

Yet he wrests all his reading to deprive those two brave Romans of their high reputation, when they had so fairly earned it by the severest trials. I am not ignorant of that childish infirmity of our nature, a fondness for ingrossing to ourselves those shining qualities with which we may happen to be dazzled; but I can hardly suspect his Lordship of so selfish and infantine a project; much less would I suppose him capable of thinking, that SCIPIO and REGULUS may be still those very great men, they have been taken for, though stained quite through with *lust* and *perfidy*.

It is true, indeed, the new Historian of Great Britain, another of these *first philosophy-men* (for the essence of the Sect consisting in paradox, it shines as well in *History* as *Divinity*) he, I say, tells us, that it will admit of a reasonable doubt, whether *severity of manners alone, and abstinence from pleasure, can deserve the name of Virtue* [1].

[1] *The History of Great Britain*, Vol. i. p. 200
 4to. printed at Edinb. 1754.

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But then he is as singular in his notions of *Religion*. He holds but two species of it in all nature, *Superstition* and *Fanaticism*; and under one or other of them, he gives you to understand [7], the whole of *Christian profession* is, and ever was, included. On the *Church of England*, indeed, he is so indulgent, to bestow *all Religion* has to give. For when he sets it against *Popery* it is *Fanaticism*: but as often as it faces about, and is opposed to *Puritanism*, it then becomes *Superstition*; and this as constantly as the occasions return.

You will say I grow partial to his Lordship, in appearing so anxious for his reputation, while your two favorite characters expire under his pen.

Never fear it. They have not lived so long to die of a fright. When his Lordship blusters we know how to take him down. It is only leading him back to that *Antiquity* he has been abusing.

Half the work is done to my hands; and I shall have only the trouble of transcribing the defence of *Scipio* against his Lordship's suspicions, as I find it in an expostulatory letter to him, on his recent treatment of a deceased friend.—

[7] See his History throughout.

“ *The reputation of the first Scipio* (says
 “ his Lordship) *was not so clear and uncon-*
 “ *troverted in PRIVATE, as in public life;*
 “ *nor was he allowed by all to be a man of*
 “ *such severe virtue as he affected, and as*
 “ *that age required. Nævius was thought*
 “ *to mean him, in some verses Gellius has*
 “ *preserved; and VALERIUS ANTIAS made*
 “ *no scruple to assert, that far from restoring*
 “ *the fair Spaniard to her family, he debauch-*
 “ *ed and kept her.* P. 204, of the *Idea of a*
 “ *Patriot King.* One would have hoped so
 “ mean a slander might have slept forgot-
 “ ten in the dirty corner of a poor Pe-
 “ dant’s [8] common place. And yet we
 “ see it quoted as a fact by an Instructor of
 “ Kings. Who knows but at some happy
 “ time or other, when a writer wants to
 “ prove, that *real friendship* becomes a
 “ great man as little as *real chastity* [9],
 “ this *advertisement* [10] of yours may be
 “ advanced to the same dignity of credit
 “ with the calumny of *Valerius Antias*. If
 “ it should, I would not undertake to dis-
 “ pute the fact on which such an infer-
 “ ence might be made; for, I remember,

[8] A. Gellius. [9] See p. 201, of the *Patriot King*. [10] Advertisement concerning Mr. Pope, prefixed to the *Patriot King*.

“ Tully,

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“ Tully, a great Statesman himself, long
 “ ago observed, *Veræ amicitiae difficilli-*
 “ *me reperiuntur in iis, qui in republica*
 “ *versantur.* — But the words of Nævius
 “ were these,

“ *Etiam qui res magnas manu sæpe gessit*
 “ *gloriose,*

“ *Cujus facta viva nunc vigent; qui apud*
 “ *gentes solus*

“ *Præstat: eum suus pater cum pallio uno*
 “ *ab amica abduxit.*

“ These obscure verses were, in Gellius's
 “ opinion, the sole foundation of Antias's
 “ calumny, against the universal concur-
 “ rence of Historians. *His ego versibus*
 “ *credo adductum Valerium Antiatem AD-*
 “ *VERSUM CETEROS OMNES scriptores de*
 “ *SCIPIONIS moribus sensisse.* L. vi. c. 8.
 “ And what he thought of this historian's
 “ modesty and truth, we may collect from
 “ what he says of him in another place.
 “ Where having quoted two tribunitial de-
 “ crees, which, he tells us, he transcribed
 “ from Records [*ex annalium monumentis*]
 “ he adds, that *Valerius Antias* made no
 “ scruple to give them the lye in public.
 “ *Valerius autem Antias, contra hanc decre-*
 “ *torum*

“ *torum memoriam contraque auctoritates*
 “ *veterum annalium—dixit, &c. L. vii. c.*
 “ 19. And Livy, in his xxxvith book,
 “ quoting this *Antias*, for the particulars
 “ of a victory, subjoins, concerning the num-
 “ ber slain, *Scriptori parum fidei sit, quia*
 “ *in augendo non alius intemperantior est.*
 “ And he who will amplify on one occasion
 “ will diminish on another; for it is the
 “ same intemperate passion that carries him
 “ indifferently to each extreme [1].”

REGULUS's virtue comes next under his
 Lordship's censure: “ I know not (says he)
 “ whether Balbus would have called in que-
 “ stion the STORY OF REGULUS. Vid. *Au.*
 “ *Gellium*. It was probably fabulous, in
 “ many circumstances at least, and there
 “ were those amongst the Romans who
 “ thought it to be so [2].” Would not
 any one now imagine, by his bringing *Au.*
Gellius again upon the stage, that there was
 another *Valerius Antias* in reserve, to de-
 pose against REGULUS likewise? just the
 contrary. The Grammarian, in the ivth
 chapter of his 6th book, confirms the com-
 mon story, with an addition, by the testimo-

[1] *A Letter to the Editor of the Letters on the Spi-
 rit of Patriotism, the idea of a Patriot King, and the state
 of Parties, &c.*

[2] Vol. v. p. 406.

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nies of the Historians *Tubero* and *Tuditanus*. The truth however is, that his Lordship had his Voucher, though he be so shy of producing him. It is the respectable Mr. TOLAND; to whom his Lordship is much indebted for this, as well as better things. Amongst the posthumous tracts of that virtuous writer, there is a *Dissertation*, intitled, *The fabulous death of Atilius Regulus*: in which, from a fragment of *Diodorus Siculus*, preserved by *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, he endeavours to prove, against all the Roman writers, with *Cicero* at their head, that *Regulus* did not die in torments, but of mere chagrin. Toland only denied that his virtue was put to so severe a trial; but this was enough for his Lordship, to call in question the whole story; and to add, that *there were those amongst the ROMANS who thought it to be fabulous*. Unluckily, the *Roman* writers are unanimous for the truth of the story. How then shall we account for his Lordship's assertion? Did he take *Diodorus Siculus* for a Latin writer, because he had not seen him in Greek? Or did he understand A. Gellius as quoting *Tubero* and *Tuditanus* for doubters of the common story?

His

His Lordship's ambition was uniform and simple : it was only, as we said, TO BE AT THE HEAD OF THINGS. As he comes nearer home, therefore, he is more and more alarmed. He found his place already occupied by certain Counterfeits and Pretenders, who had, some how or other, got into the throne of Science, and had actually received homage from the literary world. But he unmaskes and deposes them with as much ease as contempt.

“ SELDEN, GROTIUS, PUFFENDORF, and
 “ CUMBERLAND (says his Lordship) seem
 “ to be great writers, by much the same
 “ right as he might be called a great
 “ traveller, who should go from London to
 “ Paris by the *Cape of Good Hope* [3].” I
 can hardly think they took so large a compass.
 But let us trust to the Proverb :
 They and his Lordship, never fear, will
 prove it between them, *that the farthest
 way about is the nearest way home*. He
 shews us a ready road indeed, but it leads to
Atheism ; whereas, if they take us a little
 about, they bring us safely home to *Religion*.

[3] Vol. v. p. 68.

He

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He professes “a thorough contempt for
“the whole business of the learned lives of
“SCALIGER, BOCHART, PETAVIUS, USH-
“ER, and MARSHAM [4].” His con-
tempt is well grounded: for having put
himself to school to them, and learned no-
thing, it was natural for him to think,
there was nothing to be learnt. One may
surely be allowed to say, *he learnt nothing*,
when we find him ignorant even of the first
elements of the science, the meaning of THE
YEAR OF NABONASSAR; which being on-
ly an *Æra* to reckon from, he mistook for a
periodical revolution of an *artificial Year* [5].

But what need we more? Those to
whom he is most indebted; whom he most
approves, and whom he honours with the
title of *Master*, all share in one common
compliment, of insufficiency and absurdity.

MARCILIUS FICINUS, he calls the *best*
Interpreter of Plato; but, at the same time
assures us, he was *perfectly delirious*. But
why, you ask, is *Ficinus the best Interpreter*

[4] Vol. ii. p. 261—2.

[5] —“Berosus pretended to give the History [of
“the Babylonians] of four hundred eighty years:—
“and if it was so, THESE YEARS WERE PROBABLY
“THE YEARS OF NABONASSAR.” Vol. ii.

of Plato, since J. Scaliger, who knew something of the matter, says, that *he stript his Master of his purple, and put him on his own beggarly rags?* For a good reason; *Ficinus* taught his Lordship all he knew of Platonism. But why is he then *perfectly delirious?* For a better still: he holds opinions which his Lordship condemns.

His favorite BARROW, he tells us, “ goes
“ on, a long while, begging the question,
“ and talking in a theological cant MORE
“ WORTHY OF PAUL than of a man like
“ him [6]—flimzy stuff, which a man is
“ obliged to vend, when he puts on a black
“ gown and band [7].”

LOCKE and NEWTON, he insinuates, were his Heroes: Nay, such is his condescension, that he professes himself the pupil of the former. Yet this does not secure Locke from being mighty liable to a PHILOSOPHICAL DELIRIUM [8]. And as for NEWTON, the APPLICATION of his *Philosophy* is grown, or growing into some abuse [9]. Would you know how? By affording CLARKE and BAXTER certain principles

[6] Vol. iv. p. 278. [7] Vol. v. p. 361. [8] Vol. iii. p. 442. [9] Vol. iii. p. 374.

whereby

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whereby to demonstrate, *that the Soul is an
immaterial substance.* An abuse indeed!

But BACON and LOCKE, *as much as he
admires them, he is not blind* (he says) *to
their errors; but can, without being dazzled,
discern SPOTS IN THESE SUNS.*—

Before I go any further, I will lay you a
wager I know what those spots are. They
are, or I am much mistaken, no other than
the stains of *Faith* and the impurities of *Re-
velation*. But let us hear him.—“ I can dis-
“ cern a tincture, and sometimes more than
“ a tincture, in BACON, of those false notions,
“ which we are APT TO IMBIBE AS MEN, as
“ INDIVIDUALS, AS MEMBERS OF SOCIETY,
“ and as SCHOLARS. I can discern in LOCKE
“ sometimes ill-abstracted and ill-determin-
“ ed ideas, from which a wrong application
“ of words proceeds; and propositions to
“ which I can, by no means, assent. I con-
“ fess further, that I have been, and still
“ am at a loss, to find any appearance of
“ CONSISTENCY in an author, who pub-
“ lished a COMMENTARY ON THE EPI-
“ STLES OF ST. PAUL, and a treatise on
“ the REASONABLENESS OF CHRISTIANI-
“ TY (which he endeavours to prove by
“ fact and by argument) AFTER having
“ stated

“ stated clearly as he has done, the con-
 “ ditions and measures of historical pro-
 “ bability ; AND AFTER having written
 “ as strongly as he has done against the
 “ abuse of Words [1].” Did not I tell
 you so !

——“ This SUN’s sick too :

“ Shortly he’ll be an EARTH :

as the Poet has it, in his description of the
 pestilence at Thebes ; not more fatal to
 great Cities than this bloated Vapour of a
first Philosophy, which mimics, and, as he
 reflects, defiles that SUN of Science, and
 turns Nature into Prodigy.

Et SOLEM geminum et duplices se
 ostendere THEBAS, &c.

But his Lordship’s account of his other
Luminary, BACON, is still more extraordi-
 nary — He *thinks he discerns in him a tinc-*
ture, and more than a tincture of those false
notions, which we are apt to imbibe as MEN,
as INDIVIDUALS, as MEMBERS OF SOCIE-
TY, and as SCHOLARS. — That is, as
Men, we are apt to think we have a SOUL ;

[1] Vol. iv. p. 166.

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as *Individuals*, we are in expectation of a FUTURE STATE ; as *Members of Society*, we are inclined to reverence the ESTABLISHED RELIGION ; and as *Scholars*, we are taught to *reason*, and not to HARANGUE. If any of his Lordship's Followers can give a better account of this strange passage, I am very ready to resign the office I have here assumed, of being for once his Commentator.

In truth, his Lordship deals by RELIGION, and it's Advocates, as a certain french Author, I have read, does by ALCHEMY and the hermetic Philosophers ; he brings almost every great name into the number ; and after having entertained his reader much at their expence, concludes each various eulogy, alike, —
 “ Now his folly was in hoping to extract
 “ *Gold from baser metals :*” as the folly
 of all his Lordship's *Alchemists* is the
 hope of bettering *human nature* by
 GRACE.

You now, Sir, understand, how well the disposition of his mind and temper was fitted to his System. They seem indeed to be tallies, and act mutually upon one,
 another,

another, as cause and effect, in their turns.

It often happens, that men who arraign Religion, have been first arraigned by it; and their defiance of *Truth* is only a reprisal upon *Conscience*. Under these circumstances it is no wonder they should go to work much out of humour; tho' it be in an affair which requires a perfect calmness of mind, and freedom from all perturbation. But his Lordship has the miserable advantage of being the first who has written under one intermitting fit of rage and resentment. In this state, like a man in a fever, whom no posture can ease, whom no situation can accommodate, he is angry at PHILOSOPHERS for explaining what they cannot comprehend; he is angry at DIVINES for believing without explaining. Well then, they change hands; the *Philosopher* believes, and the *Divine* explains. No matter. He is angry still. In this temper then we leave him, and turn to the proper subject of my Letter.

You would know, you say, with what abilities he supports his System.

The attacks upon Religion have always been carried on, like war, by *Stratagem* and *Force*. I shall first therefore speak of his *Arts*, and then of his *Powers* of controversy.

It has been observed how closely, and how humbly, he copies the FREE-THINKERS who went before him; even to the stalest of their worn-out stratagems.

When FREE-THINKING first went upon it's mission, the PUBLIC were not disposed to understand raillery on a subject of this importance: so that it is possible there might be found amongst the more early of our anti-Apostles, a Confessor or two to the glorious cause of Infidelity. This put their Successors on their guard; or, what was better, gave them a pretence to *affect* it. From henceforth you hardly see an Infidel-book which is not introduced with the obligations, the Reader has to these servants of Truth, for venturing so far in his service, while the Secular arm hovers fearfully over them; With the disadvantages their cause must lye under, while it can be but half explained and half supported; and with the wonders they
I have

have in reserve, which only keep back and wait for a little more *Christian Liberty*.

This miserable Crambe made so constant a part of our diet, and had been dished up from time to time with so little variety, that it grew both offensive and ridiculous; for what could be more nauseous than to feign an apprehension of the Magistrate's resentment, after they had writ at their ease for almost a century together, with the most uncontrolled and unbridled licence?

In this state of things could you easily believe his Lordship would pride himself in cooking up this cold kitchen-stuff, and serving it again and again, in the midst of so elegant an entertainment. "GASSENDI

" (says he) apprehended enemies much
 " more formidable than mere Philoso-
 " phers, because armed with ecclesiastical
 " and civil power. It is this fear which
 " has hindered those who have combated
 " ERROR in all ages; and WHO COMBAT
 " IT STILL, from taking all the ADVAN-
 " TAGES which a FULL EXPOSITION OF
 " THE TRUTH would give them. Their
 " adversaries triumph as if the goodness of
 " their cause had given them the Victory,

[C 3] " when

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“ when nothing has prevented their EN-
 “ TIRE DEFEAT, or reduced their con-
 “ test to a drawn battle, except this, that
 “ they have employed arms of every kind,
 “ fair and foul, without any reserve;
 “ while the others have employed their
 “ offensive weapons with MUCH RESERVE;
 “ and have even BLUNTED THEIR EDGE
 “ when they used them [2].”

“ The adversaries [of Religion] (says
 “ he again) seldom speak out, or push
 “ the instances and arguments they bring,
 “ so far as THEY MIGHT BE CARRIED. In-
 “ stead of which these ORTHODOX BUL-
 “ LIES affect to triumph over men who
 “ employ but PART OF THEIR STRENGTH,
 “ &c. [3].”

And having, after his Masters, thus
feigned a fear, he *feigns* all the precaution
 of doubling and obliquity, which fear
 produces. He professes to believe the
 Mission of Christ, tho' founded on the
 dispensation of Moses, a dispensation he ri-
 dicules and execrates: He professes to be-
 lieve the doctrines of Christ, tho' he rejects
 his gift of life and immortality; He pro-
 fesses to believe him the Saviour of the

[2] Vol. iv. p. 163.

[3] Vol. iii. p. 273.

World,

World, tho' he laughs at the doctrine of Redemption which constitutes the essence of that character.

Well fare the *New Historian of Great Britain*; who having writ without control against Miracles, and even the very Being of a God, gratefully acknowledges the blessing; and owns that *We now enjoy TO THE FULL that liberty of the Press which is so NECESSARY in every monarchy confined by legal limitations* [4]. It is excellently observed too, let me tell you, that tho' the *Monarch* should be *confined by legal limitations*, yet the *writer for the Press* should not.

It would be endless to enter into his Lordship's small arts of controversy; yet it may not be amiss to touch upon one or two of them; such I mean as are of more general use and the readiest service.

The first is, *To honour the name when you have taken away the thing*: As thus, *To express the highest devotion to God*, when you have deprived him of his *moral attributes*:—the greatest zeal for *Religion*, while you are undermining a *future state*;—and the utmost reverence for *Revelation*, when you have stript it of *miracles and prophecies*.

[4] *The History of Great Britain*. Vol. i. p. 213.

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2. A *second* is, *To dishonour Persons and Opinions, the most respectable, by putting them into ill company, or by joining them with discredited follies.* Thus, Divines and Atheists; Clarkians and Malebranchians, are well paired, and always shewn together: In like manner, The propositions, *that the world was made for man, and that man was made for happiness,* are to be boldly represented as two inseparable parts of the same system. From whence, these advantages follow, that if an *Atheist* be odious, a *Malebranchian* mad, and the proposition of the *World's being made for man*, absurd; the odium, the madness, and the absurdity fall equally on the *Divines*, on Dr. *Clarke*, and on the proposition, *that man was made for happiness.*

3. A *third* is, *To bring the abuse of a thing in discredit of the thing itself.* Thus the visions of the *Rabbins* are made to confute JUDAISM; *Popery* and *School-learning*, to decry the *discipline and doctrine* of CHRISTIANITY; and the dreams of *Malebranche*, *Leibnitz*, and *Berkeley*, to confute the waking thoughts of CUDWORTH, CLARKE, WOLASTON, and BAXTER: For his Lordship is just such a confuter of *Metaphysics*, as he would

would be of *Ethics* or *Chemistry*, who should content himself with exposing the absurdities of the *Stoics*, and the whimsies of the *Alchemists*, and yet fraudulently forget that there are such Authors, as CICERO and BOERHAAVE. — To overturn a FUTURE STATE, he employs all the superstitious fables of the Poets and the People, concerning it: To discredit REVELATION, he enumerates all the Impostors, and Pretenders to *revelation* in all ages: And to dishonour DIVINE WORSHIP, he is very particular in describing the rites and ceremonies of the antient Church of Egypt, and the modern Church of Rome. In a word, you are sure to find, on these occasions, every sort of topic, but what the sober and intelligent Reader requires; *Considerations drawn from the nature of the thing itself.*

You would expect, however, that, when the ABUSES of things have done him such service as to stand, where he has placed them, for the *things themselves*, he would for once, at least, spare the AUTHORS of the *abuse*, if it were only for the sake of carrying on his fraud. If you expect so much, you are mistaken in his Lordship. He can, in the same breath, call
the

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the *abuses* of Revelation and the Gospel, by the names of *Revelation and the Gospel*, and rail at the *Clergy* or at the *Divine* who has introduced those abuses.

4. Another of these small arts, (and with this I shall conclude my account of them) is *the covering his own superficial knowledge (and oftentimes his thefts) with calling those who pretend to more, vain supercilious pedants.* Thus having largely pillaged a modern Writer, in his account of the Pagan MYSTERIES, he subjoins, "To attempt a minute and circumstantial account of these *Mysteries*, and even to seem to give it, would require much greater knowledge of *Antiquity* than I pretend to have, or would take the trouble of acquiring. They who attempt it have been, and always will be, ridiculously and vainly employed, while they treat this subject as if they had assisted at the celebration of these *Mysteries*, or had at least been drivers of the *Afs* who carried the *MACHINES* and *IMPLEMENTS* that served in the celebration of them[5]."

It doubtless became him well, to talk

[5] Vol. iv. p. 58.

magisterially on a subject of which he understood nothing but what he learnt from the Author, he abuses. However, he is nearer the truth than usual, when he says, *that the author is as particular, as if he had been at the unloading of the Asss, &c.* for though he was not at that ceremony, yet he had his accounts from those who were.—But jesting is dangerous on learned subjects, and in a second-hand wit, when he ventures to employ the ideas of Antiquity. He talks of *this Ass* as carrying the MACHINES and IMPLEMENTS, for the celebration of Mysteries; *machines* which were for the entertainment of fifty or sixty thousand people, at a time, in a great variety of representations. The common Latin proverb might have taught him, that what the *Ass* carried were the Books of the Mysteries; which if only as bulky as those of the *first Philosophy*, were load enough in conscience for any single *Ass*.---But I agree with his Lordship, it is not easy to speak of these *Mysteries* without verifying the Proverb [6].

Thus far for a specimen of his Lordship's *arts of controversy*. But as a good

[6] *Asinus portat mysteria.*

Mimic is commonly a bad *Actor*; and a good *Juggler* a bad *Meckanic*, so an artful *Caviller* is as generally a very poor *Reasoner*.

You will not be surprized therefore, if, in examining his Lordship's *Philosophic Character*, under the several heads of his **INGENUITY**, his **TRUTH**, his **CONSISTENCY**, his **LEARNING**, and his **REASONING**, we find him not to make so good a figure, as in the *professed arts* of Controversy.

I. Of his **INGENUITY**, which comes first, I shall content myself with only one or two instances; for his *arts of controversy*, of which you have had a taste, are a continued example of it.

I. Speaking of the Christians of the Apostolic age, he thus represents their character and manners. "Notwithstanding the sanctity of their *profession*, the GREATEST CRIMES, even that of INCEST, were practised amongst them [7]."

Is it possible (you ask) that his Lordship should give credit to the exploded calumnies of their Pagan adversaries? Think better of his sense and candour: he alludes to no such matter. St. PAUL is his Authority; and he quotes chapter

and verse, to support his charge. This but increases your surprize. It is very likely: for Philosophers, as well as Poets, of a certain rank, aim at nothing but (as *Bays* expresses it) to *elevate and surprize*. Who would not conclude, from this representation, that the first Christians began their profession in a total corruption of manners; and that, like the Magi of old, it was a law amongst them to marry their Mothers and Daughters. Whereas the simple fact, as St. Paul states it, in his first and second Epistles to the Corinthians, was this, A certain man had married his Father's wife; (but whether before or after his conversion, the writer says not) and on the Apostle's reprehension, convinced and ashamed of his folly, he repented, and made satisfaction for the scandal, he had occasioned.

2. Again, these wonderful *Essays* tell us, that when *JESUS* speaks of *legions of Angels*, it is the language of PAGANISM; but when Lord BOLINGBROKE speaks of *numberless created intelligencies superior to man*, it is the language of NATURE: for, this, his Lordship assures us, *is founded on what we know of actual existence. We are led to*
it

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it by plain, direct, unforced ANALOGY. But that of Jesus stands on no other foundation, philosophically speaking, than of a MERE POSSIBLE existence of such spirits, as are admitted for divers THEOLOGICAL USES. [8]

But why these different measures, the one for himself, and the other for his friends, the Divines? His last words let us into the secret. His philosophical *intelligencies* are a very harmless race; but the Christian *Legions* are much given to *theological* mischief. *Ministring Angels* bring in, what he can by no means relish, a particular, and a moral providence. — God's *physical* Providence, and the *civil* providence of the Magistrate, make the only Government he acknowledges: Now his *Intelligencies*, like Epicurus's Gods, are always at an idle end; but *Angels* are too busy and meddling, to be trusted, under his Lordship's Philosophic Administration.

You cannot however but be pleased to find, that the method of reasoning by *Analogy*, which you had cause to think his Lordship had totally discarded, from the hard language he has so often bestowed upon it, is brought again into favour; and now does wonders.

[8] Vol. iv. p. 179.

3. It not only opens the door, as we see, to his Lordship's *Intelligencies*, by a *plain, direct, and unforced*, application, but it shuts it against *Jesus Christ's*. "I only intend to shew (says he) that since men have not admitted, in favour of Revelation, a System of PHYSICS that is inconsistent with philosophic truth, there is no reason for admitting, in favour of the same revelation, a System of PNEUMATICS that is so, too [9]."

The favourers of Revelation would own the inference, had his Lordship, in stating the case, not begged the question. As it is, they say, his reasoning, when fairly represented, stands thus—"Divines reject the Scripture System of PHYSICS, which THEY hold to be false, therefore, they should reject the Scripture-System of PNEUMATICS," which HIS LORDSHIP holds to be false. Indeed, they conceive this no better an argument than if you was to say, That because Politicians, in speaking of the first source of political power, have called it the *primum mobile*, (alluding to the old erroneous System of Astronomy) and because they have talked too of a *ba-*

lance of Power, (alluding to the true principles of Mechanics) therefore, if we reject their System of *Astronomy*, we should reject their System of *Mechanics*, likewise.

II. Give me leave, Sir, to lead you next and bring you to a place where you may have an advantageous view of this noble Philosopher's TRUTH, the very Soul of Philosophy.

I. " The Christian Theology (says he)
 " has derived a prophane licence from the
 " Jewish, which Divines have rendered so
 " familiar and so habitual, that Men BLAS-
 " PHEME without knowing they blaspheme,
 " and that their very devotion is IMPIOUS.
 " The licence I mean is that of reasoning
 " and of speaking of the divine, as of the
 " human, nature, operations, and proceed-
 " ings; sometimes with, and sometimes
 " without the salvo of those distinguishing
 " epithets and forms of speech, which
 " can, in very few instances, distinguish e-
 " nough. The Jewish Scriptures ascribe
 " to God, not only corporeal appearance,
 " but corporeal action, and all the instru-
 " ments of it; eyes to see, ears to hear,
 " mouth and tongue to articulate, hands
 " to handle, and feet to walk. DIVINES
 " TELL

“ TELL US INDEED that we are not to
 “ understand all this according to the *lite-*
 “ *ral* signification. The meaning is, they
 “ say, that God has a power to execute
 “ all those acts, to the effecting of which,
 “ these parts, in us, are instrumental. The
 “ literal signification is, indeed, abomina-
 “ ble, and the FLIMSY ANALOGICAL
 “ VEIL, thrown over it, is stolen from
 “ the wardrobe of EPICURUS; for he
 “ taught, that the Gods had not literally
 “ bodies, but something like to bodies,
 “ *quasi corpus*: not blood, but something
 “ like to blood, *quasi sanguinem* [10].”

DIVINES say, that God *has no body nor*
any thing like to body, but is IMMATERIAL.
 EPICURUS says, that his God *had not a*
gross earthly body, but something like to
that body, and was MATERIAL. Yet
 “ their flimsy *analogical* veil is stolen from
 “ the wardrobe of *Epicurus*.” Truly a
 very subtle theft, which extracts MATTER
 from *figurative expression!* and well suited to
 his Lordship’s leger-de-main, which draws
 an *analogical veil* out of a *metaphor*. In-
 deed, to fit it the better to *Epicurus’s ward-*
robe, he makes it but a *flimsy* one.

[10] Vol. v. p. 519.

[D]

But

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But, let us now see, the various shifts he has been reduced to, in order to support his principal calumny, that *Divines stole from Epicurus the method of explaining the nature of the Godhead.*

He says, when the *Jewish Scriptures* had given GOD a *Body*, the *Divines* found out that it was not to be understood *literally*. Whereas the truth is, that the *Jewish Scriptures* themselves declare GOD to be a SPIRIT, or *immaterial*, in contradistinction to *body* or MATTER. And the best of it is, that in other places, (as we have seen just before) his Lordship quarrels with the Scriptures on this very account, for their System of PNEUMATICS. Now what did the *Divines* deduce from thence, but This necessary truth, that where the *Jewish Scriptures* describe God's actions, in accommodation to the gross conceptions of men, it is to be understood as a mere *figure of speech*. But this would not serve his Lordship's purpose; which was, to convict the *Divines* of nonsense and prevarication.

He, therefore, turns, what the *Divines* called METAPHOR which is a figure of speech, into ANALOGY which is a mode
of

of reasoning, *a flimsy analogical veil*: and Epicurus's ANALOGY, that the Gods had not earthly bodies but something like them, that is to say, *material*, he turns into a METAPHOR. *Epicurus* (says he) *taught that the Gods had not LITERALLY bodies*. Epicurus's question was not about literal or figurative expression; but about similar and dissimilar things.--- But You have enough, You say, of this great Restorer of TRUTH, and Reformer of REASON. Others may not be so easily satisfied. However I will be as short, on this head, as possible.

3. THE JEWS (his Lordship tells us) SUPPOSED CRUELTY TO BE ONE OF THE ATTRIBUTES OF THE DEITY [10]. — These very JEWS themselves say, *That the Lord is gracious and full of compassion; slow to anger and of great mercy: That he is good to all; and his tender mercies are over ALL HIS WORKS* [1]: *That his mercy endureth for EVER* [2]: *That the EARTH is full of the goodness and mercy of the Lord* [3]: *That his mercy is from EVERLASTING TO EVER-*

[10] Vol. v. p. 507. [1] Pf. cxlv. ver. 8, 9,
[2] Chron. Jer. Esra, Psalms, &c. [3] Pf.
xxxiii. ver. 5. cxix. ver. 64.

LASTING [4]. Now, which of them will You believe?

4. “ Superstition (says his Lordship) im-
 “ personated *chance* under the name of
 “ *Fortune* : and this chymetical Divini-
 “ ty was supposed to direct arbitrarily
 “ all the events, whose causes were
 “ not apparent, or which exceeded in
 “ good or ill, the expectations of men.
 “ The HEATHENS accounted, by it, for
 “ past events ; consulted it about future ;
 “ and referred themselves to it in doubt-
 “ ful cases. It is strange that SUCH SU-
 “ PERSTITIONS, instead of being confined
 “ to the Heathen world, should have been
 “ AS PREVALENT amongst God’s chosen
 “ People, both Jews and Christians ; and
 “ should be scarce exploded at this hour.
 “ It is stranger still, that a RECOURSE TO
 “ THE DECISION OF CHANCE should be
 “ expressly commanded in the *Old Testa-*
 “ *ment*, and occasionally countenanced in
 “ the *New*, even on so important an occa-
 “ sion as the election of an Apostle in the
 “ place of Judas Iscariot [5].”

[4] Pf. c. ver. 5.—ciii. ver. 17.

[5] Vol. iii. p. 476.

He asserts, we see, 1. that the *Jews* and *Christians*, as well as the *Heathens*, impersonated *Chance* under the name of *Fortune*: and 2dly, that their having recourse to Lots was having recourse to the decision of *Fortune*.

As to the *first* assertion, it is so remote from all truth, that the custom of the Jewish People, in referring all events to *God* and to him only and immediately, has given a handle to Spinoza, Toland, and others, to bring in question the very existence of an *extraordinary* dispensation.

As to the *second*, we must observe that Lots are to be considered in three different lights: or, more properly, they are of three distinct kinds.

One sort is a civil balloting, of general use in States to prevent intrigues and partialities. *SORTEM posuissent*, says Tacitus, *ne ambitioni aut inimicitii locus foret*.

Another, is a superstitious appeal to the imaginary Deity, *Chance* or *Fortune*.

And there is yet another, which is a reference of the event to Heaven, by God's own direction and appointment.

[D 3] Of

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Of the *second*, and only reprehensible fort, Revelation, as we have just now shewn, is entirely innocent.

Of the first, his Lordship, as a Politician, will not disallow the use: His quarrel, as a Philosopher, is with the *third*. And he has no way to support his charge, but by sophistically reducing it into the *second*; that is, representing it as having all the superstition of the *second*. Now in this he begs the question. — Are the Jewish and Christian Revelations true or commentitious? Commentitious, says his Lordship, for several reasons; and, amongst the rest, for their authorizing the *Pagan superstition* of Lots. — What made the Pagan superstition of Lots? Their being the inventions of men, while they pretended to be of divine appointment. — Very well: but the Jewish and Christian Lots were of divine appointment. *Pretended* to be so, if you please, says his Lordship, and this puts them into the condition of *Pagan lots*. — Softly, my Lord; Your argument must not take that for *granted*, which your argument is employed to *prove*.

But his Lordship had his head full of that Master Sophism of the FIRST PHILO-

SOPHY

sophy, which concludes against the reason or justice of a DIVINE COMMISSION, because subsequent Impostors exposed it to abuse by pretending to the like command.

For, according to the Logic and Theology of these Gentlemen, GOD must not cast out DEVILS, because it afterwards gave a handle for Popish Priests to juggle with their *Exorcisms*. He must not direct a thing to be decided by LOTS, because a village-conjurer would afterwards employ the *sieve and shears*. He must not make use of HUMAN INSTRUMENTS in punishing a people, abandoned to unnatural crimes, because an *Arabian Impostor* would afterwards pretend to the like commission. He must not institute a multifarious RITUAL, tho' it was to keep a people separate, and to secure them from the contagion of Idolatry, because wicked Priests and Politicians would establish *superstitious ceremonies* to keep communities enslaved to civil and religious Tyrants. These scrupulous Gentlemen might as well have told us, God should not have given us Riches, Knowledge, and Power, because there have been

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such men as CHARTRES, SPINOZA, and
MULY MOLECH.

But to go on with his Lordship's veracity.

5. He asserts, that *they* [the Jews] *made beasts* ACCOUNTABLE LIKE MORAL AGENTS[6]. He is aware that *to mitigate this absurdity*, as he expresses it, both the Jewish and Christian commentators say, the pain inflicted on beasts was to shew the heinousness of human crimes—to blot out the memory of a great scandal—to punish the owner for keeping an unruly beast, negligently. But he despises all these solutions, as so many pitiful evasions.—Would you believe now that in the same breath, and merely to shew his reading, he should confute his own false assertion? *I know nothing more absurd* (says he) *than this, except a custom or law at ATHENS. The WEAPONS by which a murder had been committed were brought into Court, as if they, too, were liable to punishment; and the STATUE that had killed a man by it's fall, was, by a solemn sentence of that wise people, the Thasii, founded on a Law of DRACO, cast into the sea.* Now what was his

[6] Vol. v. p. 79.

Lordship

Lordship to prove? That Moses was so ignorant a Lawgiver, and the Jews so stupid a people, that *they made beasts accountable like moral agents*. And he illustrates it by a law of the most celebrated Legislator and of the politest People, *Draco* and the *Athenians*; who made even *weapons and statues, moral agents*. The *Athenians* and *Draco* perhaps would have said, that they enacted these laws to shew their *abhorrence of murder*, and to *punish the careless ereceter of a statue*. Mere SHIFTS AND EVASIONS, says his Lordship.

6. Again, “ God (says he) was FORCED
“ to indulge the Jews in several SUPERSTI-
“ TIOUS prejudices [7], as learned Di-
“ vines *scruple not to affirm*.” Had learn-
ed Divines no more *scruples*, in *affirming*,
than his Lordship, I should hardly have
undertaken their defence.

What they *scruple not* to say is this—
That IDOLATROUS WORSHIP was never so
entirely corrupt, but that some of it's Rites
still continued rational, or, at least, remained
innocent; and might be used in the ser-
vice of the true God, *without superstition*:

[7] Vol. iv. p. 30.

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That the Israelites being fond of Egyptian ceremonies, God indulged them in the use of such as were harmless, and of no other. Nay, his Lordship's censure, which follows, seems to shew this was all their crime. He calls these Divines *bold Judges of the principles and views of God's proceedings* [8]. For it is more than probable, had they given him the advantage, he speaks of, against the *Mosaic Law*, they had never incurred his displeasure. But in what does the temerity of these *bold Judges* consist? In this, That God always chuses to take the *ordinary* means, before the *extraordinary*, when either may be made indifferently to serve his purpose. And that, therefore, he rather chose to indulge the Jews in their fondness for old habits, and to turn their propensities for *Egyptian Rites* upon such as were innocent, than to give them new habits, and new propensities, by a miraculous force impressed upon the mind, which should overrule their wills and affections.

7. WE KNOW (says his Lordship) THAT ALL THEIR [the Jews] SACRED WRITINGS WERE COMPILED AFTER THEIR

[8] P. 32.

CAPTIVITY [9]. Balzac speaks of a certain Critic who used to boast, that no body, besides God and himself, knew the meaning of this or that verse in Persius. His Lordship's [WE KNOW] is just such another revelation. Only the Critic's *meaning* might be true; but the Philosopher's *knowledge* is certainly false. A falsehood so notorious, that I am in some doubt whether this stricture belong properly to his *dogmatic* or to his *laconic* style. For *we know*, may signify—*We know that the* SPURIOUS ESDRAS *says so.* And then he gets the two things he most wants; a *very useful Truth*, and a *very noble Authority*.

8. "The Justice, [of the great day] (says his Lordship) IF IT MAY BE CALLED JUSTICE, most certainly requires that rewards and punishments should be measured out, in every particular case, in proportion to the merit and demerit of each individual. But instead of this, it is assumed, conformably to the doctrine of PLATO, that the righteous are set on the *right hand* of the Judge, and the wicked, on the *left*; from whence, they are transported into Heaven, or

[9] Vol. iv. p. 339.

"plunged

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“ plunged into Hell. They are tried *individually*, they SEEM to be rewarded
 “ or punished *collectively*, without any
 “ distinction of the particular cases, which
 “ have been so solemnly determined, and
 “ without any proportion observed be-
 “ tween the various degrees of merit and
 “ demerit, of innocence and guilt, in the
 “ application of these rewards and pu-
 “ nishments [10].”

If it may be called Justice—Marry, well put in. For who knows but, as this is the general day of accounts, and that men see, such a day will be much wanted; who knows, I say, but, rather than be without any, they may be foolish enough to take up with this? They cannot therefore have their prejudices in favour of it, rectified too soon: Let us not cavil with him therefore, for bringing the justice of this court into question, before he has examined the proceedings of it; but rather content ourselves with admiring the wonders of his reasoning. Should I seriously quote the Words of Jesus, — *In my Father's house are many mansions* [1]: And again, *The servant which knew his Lord's will, neither*

[10] Vol. v. p. 495.

[1] John xiv. 2.

did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes [2]; Should I seriously, I say, quote these words, to illustrate the truth of this noble writer's observation, that men at the great Tribunal *seem to be rewarded or punished collectively*, he would, I suppose, have been amongst the first to laugh at my simplicity; at least, the intelligent Reader would not thank me for my diligence.

III. I proceed now to his Lordship's CONSISTENCY; the next quality in his philosophic character. You have seen with what bravery he CONTRADICTS *all others*; you shall now see with what greater bravery he CONTRADICTS *himself*.

There are two things which characterise the *reasoning part* of his Lordship's writings, (if any part of so declamatory a work can be called *reasoning*) and distinguish them from all other men's; His INCESSANT REPETITIONS, and his INCESSANT CONTRADICTIONS. Indeed, these beauties beget and are begotten of one another. For when a man can furnish out no better

[2] Luke xii. 47, 48.

entertainment for his Guests than a parcel of groundless flams, he will be much subject to *repetition*; and every repetition as much subject to *variation*; for his tales having neither foundation in Fact, nor measure in Truth, they will be always producing, for admiration; and always new modeling, for convenience, as best suits his present passions and purposes.

His REPETITIONS I leave for the refreshment of those who are disposed to read him through: This short specimen of his CONTRADICTIONS I propose for a more general entertainment.

But as professed *Answerers* never abuse our understandings and our patience more than in this kind of discoveries; it may not be amiss, to say a word or two of a *species of accusation*, which *such* men are always ready to urge on the very slightest occasion, for the convenience which attends it; the convenience of making an Author confute himself when the *Answerer* is unable so to do.

Sometimes the imaginary *inconsistence* arises out of the slow or cloudy apprehension of the *Answerer*, when the *Author* is too brief or too refined: sometimes from
the

the inaccurate expression of the *Author*, when the *Answerer* is too hasty or too captious. It sometimes arises from the *Answerer's* prejudices; and sometimes again from the *Author's* prevarication.

Nay (which is stranger still) the more exact the distinctions are, and the more correct the expression, (and the correcter and exacter they will be in proportion to the *Author's* knowledge of *words* and *things*) the more shall the discourse abound with *these inconsistencies*. For a heavy or a precipitate *Answerer*, will never be able to distinguish SIMILAR things from IDENTICAL.

Prejudice for a set of Opinions may make an *Answerer* mistake some things to be in Nature, what they are only in the combinations of the Schools; and finding them considered differently (that is, under other associations) by his adversary who may have no prejudices, or prejudices of another kind, he will be extreme ready to call these *differences*, by the more commodious name of *contradictions*.

Lastly, the *Author*, if he be a FREE-THINKER, has a kind of right, by prescription, to two or three, or indeed, to

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two or three dozen of *Characters*, as best suits his purpose, or errand: A practice, which, being begun under a want of Liberty, was continued out of Licentiousness, and is still kept up for the sake of it's Conveniences. Now if such a one be too lazy to assume a *personated Character* in form, then, (as Lord Shaftsbury observes) *a dull kind of IRONY which amuses all alike*, becomes his favorite figure of speech. But with such a Writer, an inattentive or plain-dealing Answerer may give himself much trouble, to collect his *contradictions*, and all, to be well laughed at for his pains.

I have fairly marked out these various delusions, that You may have it in your power to detect me, should I be tempted to impose upon You, myself. Not that I claim much merit from this fair dealing; for his Lordship's CONTRADICTIONS are so gross and substantial, numerous and obvious, that I was under no temptation to make out my specimen by any thing doubtful or equivocal.

J. " I could not (says his Lordship)
 " have discovered, as NEWTON did, that
 " *universal law* of corporeal Nature, which
 " he has demonstrated. But further than
 " that,

“ that, he could go no more than I; nor
 “ discover the ACTION OF THE FIRST
 “ CAUSE, BY WHICH THIS LAW WAS IM-
 “ POSED ON ALL BODIES, AND IS MAIN-
 “ TAINED IN THEM [3].” Here, he owns
 ATTRACTION not to be a REAL or an
 essential PROPERTY OF MATTER, but *the*
action of the first cause upon it. Yet in
 another place he observes, that “ AT-
 “ TRACTION MAY BE, notwithstand-
 “ ing all the SILLY abstract reasoning to
 “ the contrary, A REAL PROPERTY OF
 “ MATTER [4].” The truth is, that, for
 any thing his Lordship knew of this *uni-*
versal Law, or of the *silly abstract reasoning*
 concerning it, ATTRACTION might be
 Action, Passion, Magic, or the Man in
 the Moon. He only followed his leader,
 Mr. COLLINS, who displayed the same
 Philosophic spirit in speaking of GRAVI-
 TY, the *effect of Attraction*: And CLARKE’s
 animadversion on his knowledge will ex-
 actly suit his Lordship’s.— “ Not content
 “ to have erred so very grossly in the first
 “ foundation of all natural Philosophy;
 “ you could not forbear professing further,
 “ that you have often admired that GRA-

[3] Vol. iv. p. 8.

[4] Vol. iii. p. 547.

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" VITATION *should be esteemed a matter*
 " *of such difficulty amongst Philosophers;*
 " *and that you think it to be so evi-*
 " *dent and necessary an effect of mat-*
 " *ter in constant motion perpetually striking*
 " *one part against another, that you won-*
 " *der every body should not see it. I sup-*
 " *pose the rest of the world will no less*
 " *admire at you, for imagining that, by*
 " *so flight an admiration, you could at*
 " *once set aside all the propositions in that*
 " *most excellent book [the Principia of*
 " *Newton] wherein it is made appear by*
 " *strictly mathematical demonstrations,*
 " *drawn from the Laws of motion, now*
 " *agreed on by Mathematicians, and*
 " *established by experiments, and from*
 " *the Phænomena of the heavenly bo-*
 " *dies; that the present operations of na-*
 " *ture, depending upon gravitation, can-*
 " *not possibly be mechanical effects of*
 " *matter in constant motion perpetually*
 " *striking one part against another.—Upon*
 " *the whole, all that you have advanced*
 " *about gravitation is such marvellous*
 " *reasoning, to be made use of in the*
 " *present age, after so many great disco-*
 " *veries, founded upon experience, and*
 " *even*

“ even mathematical demonstration ; that
 “ tho’ I have no cause at all to be displea-
 “ sed with you for arguing in such a man-
 “ ner ; yet, I believe, your readers cannot
 “ but think you might very well have for-
 “ born going out of your way, to give so
 “ very disadvantageous a representation of
 “ *your own* Philosophy [5].”

2. In one place, his Lordship tells us, *that the right of the Israelites to the Land of Canaan was founded on the PROPHECY of Noah* : in another, that *it was founded on the PROMISE to Abraham*. Second thoughts are best. He seems here to be a little nearer the truth. For tho’ a *promise* may intitle to a possession, I do not see how a *prophecy* can do more than foretel one : Unless his Lordship has some ethical engine of a new invention, to extend the grounds of *Obligation*, unknown to GROTIUS, SELDEN, and CUMBERLAND : yet they travelled for it ; and, if we may believe his Lordship’s account of their famous *Journey to Paris*, spared for no room in laying foundations. But, in this affair of the PROMISE, his Lordship *insinuates* an

[5] Clarke’s third defence of the immateriality and natural immortality of the Soul, against Collins.

untruth ; which is a great deal meaner than *telling* one : For he represents it as capricious, arbitrary, and without any reason assigned.

3. “ The Jews (says his Lordship) as
 “ often as they made God descend from
 “ Heaven, and as much as they made
 “ him reside on earth, were *far from cloath-*
 “ *ing him with corporeity*, and imputing
 “ corporeal vices to him [7].”

Yet two or three pages forward, so prevalent is the lust of abuse, he expressly says, *they DID cloath him with COR-*
 POREITY.

These are his words : “ The Jewish
 “ Scriptures ascribe to God not only cor-
 “ poreal appearance, but corporeal action,
 “ and all the instruments of it ; eyes to
 “ see, ears to hear, mouth and tongue to
 “ articulate, hands to handle, and feet to
 “ walk [8].” You will say, perhaps, that his Lordship meant, the Scriptures indeed ascribed all this to God ; but in a *figurative*, not in a literal, sense. I would have said so too, but that his Lordship goes on rating the Divines for understanding the scripture-representation in a *figurative* sense.

[7] Vol. v. p. 515. [8] P. 519.

Which,

Which, too, he shews does not mend the matter; this *figurative* sense being stolen from Epicurus. Now we know that Epicurus certainly believed the Gods to be CORPOREAL (if he believed any) tho' made of a finer stuff than mere mortal bodies. "Divines (says his Lordship) tell us indeed, that we are not to understand all this according to the literal signification, &c. But this *flimsy theological veil* thrown over the literal signification is stolen from the wardrobe of Epicurus [9]." His Lordship's wardrobe seems to be as rich as Epicurus's, in VEILS: a little after, we have a very curious one, *a thin and trite VEIL of analogy*: and he is ready to lend them to Divines, as Lucullus did his cloaks to the Players, by the dozen.

But whenever his Lordship speaks of CHRISTIANITY, a kind of fatality attends him; and his contradictions have then neither stop nor measure.

4. Speaking of the *last Supper*, he says, "The person by whom it was instituted is represented sometimes under images, that render it impossible to frame any,

[9] P. 519.

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“ of the EFFICACY, or even of the INSTI-
 “ TUTION, of this Sacrament. Christ is a
 “ *vine*, he is a *rock*, nay he is a *coat*,
 “ according to St. Paul,” &c.[10]. And
 yet no further off than four pages, he says,
 “ There is no one [figurative expreffion]
 “ perhaps in the whole Gospel, less liable
 “ to any equivocal sense than that which
 “ Christ employed when he said, *This is*
 “ *my body*, and *this my blood*, in the very
 “ act of giving bread and wine to his Dis-
 “ ciples, who were at supper with him,
 “ just before his death, for a remembrance
 “ of which, this ceremony of a supper was
 “ then instituted by him. The figure
 “ was easy, the application natural, and
 “ they could not understand the expreffion
 “ literally [1].”

His Lordship, as you may well think, has
 commonly *different* purposes to serve by
 his contradictions. Here it is one and the
same: to discredit a Gospel institution:
 which is equally done by shewing it to
 be mysterious, obscure, and incomprehen-
 sible, where it pretends to clearness and
 precision; and low, trite, and mean, where
 it pretends to something august, peculiar,

[10] Vol. iv. p. 592. [1] P. 596.

and in the highest degree efficacious. All the fault in this case, except his Lordship's most profound ignorance of the nature of the Rite [2], is his bringing these two curious observations so near to one another.

5. "Christianity (says his Lordship) as the Saviour published it, was full and sufficient to all the purposes of it. Its simplicity and plainness shewed that it was designed to be the religion of mankind, and manifested likewise the divinity of it's original [3]." This is very gracious. Yet the Scene changes with his Lordship's humour; and the *simplicity* and *plainness* become *dark, ambiguous, and incomprehensible*. "That there are many ambiguous expressions, many dark sayings, in the Gospel; MANY DOCTRINES, which reason could never have taught, nor is able to comprehend, now they are taught, cannot be denied [4]."

[2] See what is said of it, in the xth discourse, on the principles of N. and R. Religion, preached at Lincoln's Inn.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 450.

[4] Vol. iv. p. 318.

But let him recover his temper, and Christianity brightens up again, and we see it restored to his good graces. “The system of Religion (says he) which Christ published, and his Evangelists recorded, is a compleat system to all the purposes of true Religion, natural and revealed. It contains all the duties of the former, it enforces them by asserting the *divine* Mission of the Publisher, who proved his assertion at the same time by his *miracles* [5].” But it is only restored to be as suddenly deposed. It’s birth is so far from being *divine*, that he insinuates it to be *spurious*, and neither better nor worse than a kind of *Bastard Platonism*. “It is astonishing to observe the strange conformity between PLATONISM and GENUINE CHRISTIANITY itself, such as it is taught in the original Gospel. We need not stand to compare them here: Particular instances of conformity will occur often enough. In general, the *Platonic* and *Christian* Systems have a very near resemblance, QUALIS DECET ESSE SORORUM [6].” He then goes on to shew, that the common

[[5] Vol. iv. p. 314. [6] Vol. iv. p. 340.

Parent of both was not REASON but ENTHUSIASM.

Enthusiasm, you will say, is now fairly brought to bed of twins, *Platonism* and *Christianity*. No such matter. *Genuine Christianity was taught of God* [7].—"As it stands in the Gospel it contains a compleat system of Religion: it is in truth the system of natural Religion [8]."

Well then, we shall hear no more of this *sisterly resemblance to Platonism*. Perhaps not. But you shall hear, and that soon too, of as great changes. This Christianity is at last found to be derived from JUDAISM; that very JUDAISM, which, he had told us, was it self raised on THEFT and MURDER—"On the Religion of the Jews, and on the Authority of their Scriptures, Christianity was founded [9]." Again, They who prefer the example and doctrine of CHRIST to those of PAUL, will find reason to think that the Messiah intended rather to reform and to graft upon Judaism, than to abolish it [10]."

[7] Vol. iv. p. 348—9.

[8] Vol. iv. p. 316.

[9] Vol. iv. p. 317.

[10] Vol. iv. p. 350.

And again; He accuses PAUL for preaching a *new Gospel*, called by the Apostle, *my Gospel*: And this new, or peculiar Gospel, his Lordship tells us *was the Mystery of God's purpose to TAKE IN THE GENTILES, so INCONSISTENT with the declarations and practice of JESUS* [1]. Yet for all this, had Christ's Gospel “been propagated with the same simplicity with which it was originally taught by CHRIST, it would (he tells us) have been to the unspeakable benefit of MANKIND [2].”

Let us now sum up his Lordship's Doctrine concerning the GOSPEL OF JESUS. “The Gospel is simple, clear, and of *divine original*: But it is, at the same time, dark, ambiguous, incomprehensible; and, like it's *Sister Platonism*, the *Issue of Enthusiasm*.—As Jesus published it, the Gospel is a *complete System of Natural Religion*, and tends to the unspeakable *benefit of mankind*: But as Jesus published it, the Gospel was only a *reform* of that *Imposture Judaism*, on which it was *founded*, and was intended by Jesus to be *confined to the Jewish People*; it being PAUL, who,

[1] Vol. iv. p. 323.

[2] Vol. iv. p. 316.

in direct contradiction to the declarations and the practises of Jesus, turned it into a compleat System of Natural Religion, and made it tend to the *unspeakable benefit of mankind*, by extending it to the Gentiles." And thus he goes on contradicting his own assertions, as fast as he advances them, from one end of his Essays to the other.

The same self-contradictions, which confute his own calumnies against Christianity ITSELF, still follow him when he comes to speak of the PROPAGATORS of Christianity.

6. "He (says this noble Lord) who compares the Epistles of JAMES, of PETER, and JOHN, such as we have them, with those of PAUL, and all these with the doctrines of the GOSPEL, will be perhaps of my opinion; at least he will have no ground to say of the three first, that they were authors of NEW GOSPELS, as he will have grounds to say of the last, and as the last does in effect say of himself [3]." What was this *new Gospel*? It was, as we have seen just before, *the Mystery of God's purpose to take in the Gentiles.* JAMES, PETER, and JOHN,

[3] Vol. iv. p. 320.

there-

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therefore, according to his Lordship, taught not this mystery ; *so inconsistent*, as he says, with the declarations and practice of Jesus. Yet soon after he confesses, that JAMES, PETER and JOHN, did not preach CHRIST'S Gospel, but were, together with PAUL, *the Authors* of this NEW GOSPEL. For, speaking of the *Council of Jerusalem*, he says, *The APOSTLES had given no directions to insist that the GENTILES should or should not, submit to circumcision, and to the yokes of the Law* [4]. Which necessarily implies a confession, that THEY too were Authors of this new Gospel, the *Mystery of God's purpose to take in the Gentiles*. The *taking in the Gentiles*, he supposes a thing agreed on by all the Apostles : and that what was yet undone was the settling the precise *terms* of their admission.

Our Unbelievers look so monstrously askint upon Religion, that the opposite rays of their prejudice are always disturbing and confounding one anothers effects. Yet, in the general, it requires pains to fix the *contradictions* which spring out of these fugitive cross-lights. Commend

[4] Vol. iv. p. 324.

me therefore to the Man who brings his *contradictions* to a point; and requires nothing of you but eye-sight to comprehend them in their full lustre.

His *pro* and *con* are always near neighbours. So that we shall not be surprized to find them at last, in the following instances, incorporated, as it were, into one another.

7. "I much doubt (says his Lordship) whether the EVANGELISTS would understand the Epistles of St. PAUL, THO' ONE OF THEM WAS HIS SCRIBE [5]."—It was said of One, that he *believed against hope*: a subject of much mirth to our *first-Philosophy-Men*.

But what is that, to his Lordship's greater strength of mind, who can *doubt against certainty*!—PAUL and LUKE agreed to preach the Gospel together: and not only so, but that *Luke's* pen should be employed to convey their common sentiments, and adventures, to posterity. And yet he questions whether LUKE understood PAUL'S EPISTLES.

[5] Vol. iv. p. 202.

Dic aliquem, fodes, heic Quintiliane, colorem
Hæremus —

—Some body, I suppose, might tell him, that one of these *Evangelists* was Paul's Companion, his Amanuensis and Historian. But his observation being too good to be thrown away, he added with infinite dexterity and address——*tho' one of them was his Scribe.*

8. Again, Speaking of the MORAL ATTRIBUTES, the noble Lord observes, “ We
“ make God so much a copy of man,
“ that we design the worst, as well as
“ the best of our own features, if I may
“ so say, in our representations of him :
“ and, as common as it is, no unprejudiced
“ thinking man can hear, without astonishment,
“ our *perfections* and our *imperfections*
“ imputed to the divine Being
“ in the same breath, and by the same
“ men ; with this difference at most, that
“ the former are imputed directly, and
“ the latter sometimes under the THIN
“ AND TRITE VEIL OF ANALOGY. In a
“ Being thus constituted, they may well
“ imagine that the moral virtues are the
“ same

“ same as they are in our ideas : and
 “ Theology may easily deduce, from his
 “ attributes, the characters Theology has
 “ given them [6].”

We cannot, says his Lordship, without astonishment see our perfections and our imperfections imputed to the divine Being. His astonishment is all a sham. There is, indeed, no such imputation, even in his own reckoning. For tho' he pretends the imperfections are imputed, yet, he says, it is under the thin and trite veil of analogy. That is, not imputed. For when Scripture speaks of the outstretched arm of God, and his all-seeing eye, does it impute arms and eyes to God, in the sense it imputes justice and goodness to him? Yes, says he—under the thin and trite veil of analogy. i. e. Not in the same sense. As if we should say, His Lordship AFFIRMS under the thin and trite veil of a DENIAL.

This, Sir, is a very scanty specimen of his Lordship's CONTRADICTIONS. Yet no man appears to be more sensible of the disgrace which CONTRADICTIONS bring upon a writer. For, speaking of the

[6] Vol. v. p. 89.

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whole COLLEGE OF APOSTLES, he says, *These inconsistent Writers talk often a different language on the same subject; and CONTRADICT in one place what they have said in another* [5].

IV. His Lordship's profound LEARNING comes next to be considered.

I. The first instance I shall give, is fetched from the very penetralia of the *first Philosophy*. "Human knowledge is so entirely and solely derived from actual BEING, that, without actual Being, we should not have EVEN ONE of those simple ideas, whereof all the complex and abstract notions that TURN OUR HEADS are composed [6]."

Here, his Lordship cried *ευρηκα*, and should have sacrificed a Bull for his discovery: which informs us of no less a truth than this, that *if we had had no Being we should have had no sensation*: in other words, that *qualities cannot exist without a substance*. For if, by *actual being* he did not take in the thinker's own, the observation is false: a rational Being, tho' existing singly, has yet the idea of his own existence. But the observation is every way

[5] Vol. iv. p. 489.

[6] Vol. iii. p. 411.

extraordinary. He supposes our *simple* ideas to be real ; he supposes our *complex and abstract* notions to be compounded of the *simple* ideas ; and yet he supposes that the composition has TURNED OUR HEADS. Till now, I understood it was *fantastic*, and not *real* knowledge, which *turned men's heads*. But I forget ; His Lordship found the *whole World in a frenzy* ; and then indeed it is hardly worth while to enquire what set them a going.

2. “ The PAGANS (says his Lordship) “ do not appear to have interpolated the “ antient *Doctors* of Paganism ; nor is there “ any pretence to say that THEY have “ imposed any spurious books on the “ world, under the name of those *Doc-* “ *tors* [7].”

ORPHEUS and MERCURIUS TRISMEGISTUS were certainly *Pagan Doctors*, if ever there were any. And did his Lordship never hear, that the Books, Hymns, and Poems, come down to us, under their names, were Pagan forgeries ? I will not insist upon the SIBYLLINE ORACLES, which CICERO assures us had been *interpolated*, (for the Pagans interpolated

[7] Vol. iv. p. 195.

[F]

their

their very forgeries) because I do not know to what conditions his Lordship confines the *Doctorate* in the Pagan World, or whether he admits the fair sex to the honour of the Hood.

However, let us not think him so unlearned as not to have heard of these forgeries. He had both heard of them, and considered them well: And as he is always for putting the saddle on the right horse, (as where he ascribes *atheism* to the *Divines*) he charges all these iniquities on the CHRISTIANS. "It was (says he) to promote the Opinion, that all the Mysteries of their [the Christians'] Religion, had been revealed by the writings of *Pagan Philosophers* many centuries before Christ, that so many books were forged under the names of *Mercurius Trismegistus*, of *Hystaspes*, of the *SIBYLS*, and perhaps of others."

We are got a good way towards Doctorating these old Woman: They are become *Philosophers*, we see. — But whether the Christians were the *only* forgers of *Sibylline Oracles* must be left to be decided between Tully and his Lordship.

The

The truth is, and who, that understands antiquity, ever doubted of it? That some paganized Christians learnt this trade of forging Books, under antient names, from those whose superstition they had left, but not that spirit of imposture which supported it.

3. “ The [greek] Historians, says his
 “ Lordship, observing how fond their
 “ countrymen were of those who writ
 “ Fables, turned History into Romance;
 “ and studied to make their relations mar-
 “ vellous and agreeable, with little regard
 “ to truth, in which they were encourag-
 “ ed, AFTER ALEXANDER’S EXPEDITION
 “ INTO ASIA, by the difficulty of dis-
 “ proving any thing they said of coun-
 “ tries so remote [8].” A vulgar man,
 and one of those his Lordship calls Pe-
 dants, would have said, — BEFORE A-
 LEXANDER’S EXPEDITION: because the
difficulty in a great measure ceased AFTER
 that Conquerer had opened, and his Suc-
 cessors had kept open, a communication
 with those *remote countries*.

4. He calls Aristotle’s Logic, “ the
 “ rules of a Dialectic that seemed to prove,

[8] Vol. iv. p. 137—8.

[F 2]

“ and

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“ and DID PROVE indifferently either in
 “ favor of truth or error [9]”. Exaggeration is one of his Lordship's favorite figures of speech : but here, pushed a little too far ; for, not content with saying that Aristotle's *rules of syllogizing* (for that is what he means by the *rules of a dialectic*) *seemed to prove*, he will needs add, and DID PROVE. Which shews such a knowledge of Syllogism, as needed not the following instance to set it off. “ It must not
 “ (says he) be imagined, that he who
 “ reasons, or seems, rather, to reason
 “ closely and consequentially, has there-
 “ fore truth always on his side [1].” I desire to know who ever thought he had, who did not mistake (as his Lordship here seems to do) the art of *ranging* arguments, for the Art of *finding* them ? “ No body
 “ (his *Master Locke* would tell him) can
 “ hinder, but that SYLLOGISM, which
 “ was intended for the service of truth,
 “ will sometimes be made use of, against
 “ it. But it is NEVERTHELESS ON
 “ TRUTH'S SIDE, AND ALWAYS TURNS
 “ UPON THE ADVERSARIES OF IT [2].”

[9] Vol. iv. p. 158. [1] P. 159.

[2] Second Letter to the Bp. of Worcester, p. 31—2. 8^o Ed. 1697.

6. Speaking of *Angels*, his Lordship thinks fit to hazard this Observation:
 “ There is another cause of this PNEU-
 “ MATICAL MADNESS, [the belief of
 “ such Beings] the fondness of making
 “ *man* pass for one of those Beings that
 “ participated of the *divine Nature*. This
 “ had long possessed the heathen Theists :
 “ and IT POSSESSED THE CHRISTIANS
 “ WITH MORE ADVANTAGE [3].”

This seems demonstration that his Lordship either never read, or at least never understood, an antient Apologist. The truth is, there was not one extravagance in all Paganism, which afforded so much advantage to the primitive Christians as this fond opinion of the antient Philosophers, that the human Soul was *a part or portion of the divine nature* ; nor was there any, they were more eager to expose : They laboured, indeed, with so much warmth, and sometimes with so little discretion, that it hath given a handle for some learned moderns to pretend that all the antient Fathers believed the *natural mortality of the Soul* [4]. Well, but

[3] Vol. iv. p. 478.

[4] See Dodwell on this Subject.

if the Christians were not *possessed with this fondness*, he will shew you, at least, they might have been possessed with it, and *to more advantage* too. But this part of his Lordship's philosophic Character, his *Reasoning*, I am not yet come to. However, as we are now upon the borders, it may not be amiss to usher it in with this curious argument; which undertakes to prove, that the impious notion of the human Soul's *participating of the divine nature, possessed, or at least might have possessed*, the Christians with *more advantage*, than it did the heathen Theists. What then, do you think it is? You will hardly guess. It is this, *That Christians are wont to ASSUME that man is compounded of body and SOUL* [5]. Well, it must needs be allowed, that till we *assume*, man has a Soul, we can never be *possessed* with an opinion that his Soul participates of the divine Nature. So much then is admitted, that since Christians hold, *man is composed of soul and body*, they may be *possessed with advantage*. But how it should be with *more advantage*, than the Heathens, I cannot comprehend. Did

[5] Vol. iv. p. 478.

not They, as well as the Christians, hold that man was composed of soul and body? We need not, I think, any other proof than this notion, of *participation* imputed to them. For they could not, sure, be so absurd to hold that, *nothing might participate of something*. However, of this I will not be over positive, since his Lordship tells us, they all laboured under an incurable PNEUMATICAL MADNESS.

V. Such an escape of his Lordship's logic, must needs awake us to expect great things from this last capital accomplishment of the *Philosopher*, his ART OF REASONING: to which, we are now arrived.

1. He will prove against LOCKE, that *the notion of Spirit involves more difficulty or obscurity in it than the notion of body*. Nay, he says *he will make LOCKE prove this against himself, that we have more and clearer primary ideas belonging to body than we have of those belonging to immaterial Spirit*. And thus he argues,
 " Primary ideas are the ideas of such qua-
 " lities as exist always in the substance to

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" which they belong, whether they are
 " perceived or no. They are therefore
 " essential to it, and productive, by their
 " operations, of those secondary qualities
 " which may be said only to exist in our
 " perceptions of them. Of the first sort
 " are solidity and extension, to mention
 " no others, the primary qualities, and, in
 " our ideas the essence of Matter, of which
 " we can frame no conception exclusively
 " of them. These notions I have TA-
 " KEN FROM MR. LOCKE, and they lead
 " me to ask what the primary ideas are of
 " spirit or immaterial substance? The
 " Primary idea or the essence of it is
 " THOUGHT; as body is the *extended*,
 " this is the thinking substance, SAYS
 " DES CARTES. THOUGHT then, AC-
 " TUAL THOUGHT, is the essence of the
 " soul or spirit, and, by consequence, so
 " inseparable from it, that we cannot
 " conceive the Soul or Spirit to exist
 " separately from, or exclusively of,
 " thought. " But this I know to be
 " untrue: and I may well own, since
 " Locke has owned the same, that I
 " have one of those dull Souls that does
 " not

“not perceive itself always to contemplate ideas [6].”

Won't you naturally suspect him of foul play, when you find him employing the language of one Philosopher, to confute the sentiment of another? He is arguing against LOCKE concerning the equal or superior evidence of the primary qualities of *Body* and *Spirit*, and he takes DESCARTES's definition of the primary qualities of *Spirit*, to make out his point. In plain truth, he puts the change upon us: he uses *thought*, or *actual thinking*, for the *faculty of thinking*. It is this Last which is *essential* to the soul and inseparable from it: It is this last, which being a *power* is properly predicated of an *Agent*: It is this last which Locke understood to be the *primary idea of a spirit or immaterial substance*, when he said that *the notion of Spirit involves no more difficulty nor obscurity in it than that of body*: And it is the last, of which it may be truly said, that *we cannot conceive the soul or spirit to exist separately from, or exclusively of it*.

[6] Vol. iii. p. 510—11.

2. His

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2. His Lordship owns, that *it is above humanity to comprehend that virtue, whatever it be, whereby one Being acts upon another, and becomes a cause.*

“ Whatever knowledge (says he) we acquire of *apparent causes*, we can acquire none of *real causality*: by which, I mean, that force, that power, that virtue, whatever it be, by which one Being ACTS on another, and becomes a cause. We may call this by different names according to the different effects of it; but to know it in its first principles, to know the nature of it, would be *to know as God himself knows*, and therefore this will be always unknown to us in causes that seem to be most under our inspection, as well as in those that are the most remote from it [7].”

Would you believe, now, that it was but a little before, in this very *Essay*, that for want of this knowledge, (which yet to affect even in causes that seem to be most under our inspection, would be to affect knowing as God himself knows) he denies the Soul to be a substance distinct from body. “ They (says he) who hold

[7] Vol. iii. p. 551.

“ the

“ the hypothesis of two distinct sub-
 “ stances MUST EXPLAIN in some tolera-
 “ ble manner, *which they have not yet done*,
 “ the union, and MUTUAL ACTION ON
 “ ONE ANOTHER, of unextended and ex-
 “ tended Beings, or else deny the absolute
 “ existence of any thing extrinsical to the
 “ mind [8].”

That is, those who hold the hypothesis of two distinct Substances must either do that which he holds no Being but the omniscient can do ; or they must run mad ; or (which I think is something worse) they must surrender up themselves to his Lordship's guidance.

He employs the same arms to combat INSPIRATION ; and with the same advantage. The Notion of which is idle and visionary, because “ He has *no*
 “ *more conception of this supposed AC-*
 “ *TION of the divine, on the human*
 “ *mind*, than he has of the inspiration by
 “ which the Holy Ghost proceeds from
 “ the Father and Son, according to the de-
 “ cision of the council of Florence.”
 That is, he rejects *Inspiration* because he does not comprehend that virtue *by which*

[8] Vol. iii. p. 521, 2.

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one Being acts upon another and becomes a Cause; altho' he owns none but God can comprehend it.

But his argument against the *existence* of the SOUL, and the *reality* of INSPIRATION, is doubly faulty. For not only, to reject a *revealed truth*, when the proposition in which it is contained is unaccompanied with that explanation of the *cause* which our faculties are INCAPABLE of comprehending, is folly and extravagance; but, to reject it even then, when the proposition is unaccompanied with the explanation which our faculties are CAPABLE of comprehending, is unreasonable.

3. His Lordship endeavours to shew, that a *future State was not the Sanction of the Law or Religion of Nature*. And how does he go about it? — “Sanctions must
“be contained in the Law to which they
“belong; they must be a part of it. In
“their promulgation, they must precede,
“as the Law does, necessarily, all acts of
“obedience, or disobedience to it; — they
“must be as public — These conditions are
“essential, there can be no sanction without them. And therefore the rewards
“ of

“ of *a future State*, which have not these
 “ conditions, are no sanctions of the natu-
 “ ral Law. Reason and experience, that
 “ taught men, this Law, shewed them
 “ the sanctions of it. But neither of them
 “ pointed out *these*. Have we any grounds
 “ to believe, that they were known to the
 “ antediluvian World? Do they stand at the
 “ head or tail of the SEVEN PRECEPTS
 “ GIVEN TO THE SONS OF NOAH? Were
 “ they so much as mentioned by Mo-
 “ ses [9]?”

Can you possibly forbear laughing? Had he found a *future state* in the *seven precepts* of *Noah*, or in the *books of Moses*, be assured he would have employed this lucky circumstance to prove, that a *future state* was not the Sanction of the *Law of Nature*, but the sanction of a *positive Law*, or of a *pretended Revelation*. For in the beginning of this very section, has he not attempted to prove it was so, from its being found in the GOSPEL? “ God (says he) has
 “ given a Law, the *Law of Nature* and
 “ Reason, to all his human Creatures:
 “ the *Sanctions* of it are a NATURAL
 “ TENDENCY of virtue to the happi-

[9] Vol. v. p. 512—13.

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“ nefs, and vice to the misery, of man-
 “ kind — They are imperfect — To supply
 “ the imperfection [Revelation pretends]
 “ that there must be neceffarily some *fur-*
 “ *ther* *sanctions* of this Law, and these are
 “ the rewards and punishments reserved
 “ to a FUTURE STATE. Here is ample
 “ room for *reflexions* [10].” — In truth
 there is : and I have juſt given you a very
 obvious one, for a ſample.

4. He tells us, that *the worship of the*
one true God was not the firſt Religious
Worship. The BIBLE ſays it was. No
 matter for that. The BIBLE is a farrago
 of inconſiſtencies [1]. “ *Metbuſalem* (he
 “ ſays) ſaw both *Adam* and *Noah*, to
 “ both of whom God revealed himſelf in
 “ his Unity. *Shem*, the Son of *Noah*,
 “ lived even to the days of *Abraham*.
 “ Need I ſtay to ſhew HOW IMPOSSIBLE
 “ it is for any man IN HIS SENSES to be-
 “ lieve that a tradition derived from God
 “ himſelf, through ſo *few generations*, was
 “ loſt amongſt the greateſt part of man-
 “ kind ; or that Polytheiſm and Idolatry
 “ were eſtabliſhed on the ruins of it in the
 “ days of *Serug*, before thoſe of *Abraham*,

[10] Vol. v. p. 511—12.

[1] Vol. iv. p. 19.

“ and

“ and so soon after the Deluge? I should
 “ think it IMPOSSIBLE even for the Jews
 “ themselves to swallow so many fables
 “ and so many anacronisms. Since the
 “ unity of God was not universally taught
 “ in those early days, it was not so *reveal-*
 “ *ed*, nor preserved in the manner as-
 “ sumed. [2].”

This account therefore, he tells us, is IN-
 CONSISTENT with itself [3]. You will
 wonder perhaps how it comes to pass, that
 these two propositions, *The Unity was re-*
vealed by God to Adam—and the knowledge
of it was lost in a very few generations—
 should be so unable to stand together. The
 best answer I can give you is, that his Lord-
 ship was more attentive to his own passionate
 speeches—*no man in his senses can believe—*
It is impossible for the Jews themselves to
swallow such fables and anacronisms—
 than to the FACTS which occasioned all
 this resentment. The utmost that even
 Prejudice, in its senses, can make of the
 Scripture account, is an IMPROBABILITY:
 and this *improbability*, his Lordship him-
 self, but two pages afterwards, is so good
 to remove for us. He delivers it as

[2] Vol. iv. p. 20.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 19.

a general Truth, that “ the Vulgar EASI-
 “ LY embrace Polytheism and Idolatry,
 “ even AFTER the true doctrine of the di-
 “ vine unity has been taught and received ;
 “ as we may learn from the example of
 “ the *Israelites* : and superstitions GROW
 “ APACE, AND SPREAD WIDE, where
 “ *Christianity* has been established and is
 “ DAILY TAUGHT, as we may learn
 “ from the example of the Roman
 “ Churches [4].”

Now, Sir, I argue thus, If amongst
 the *Israelites*, Idolatry and Superstition so
easily, so frequently, and so instantaneously
succeeded, to the worship of the true God,
 and needed such severe punishments to
 bring men back again to reason, in a
 place where many extraordinary means
 were provided to keep them in their duty ;
 and if, amongst *Christians*, Idolatry and Su-
 perstition grow *apace and spread wide* where
 the *true doctrine of the unity* is *daily taught*,
 how can we wonder that in *so few ge-*
nerations, as from *Adam* to *Serug*, Polythe-
 ism and Idolatry *had established themselves on*
the ruins of the Unity ; and in an Age,

[4] Vol. iv. p. 22.

when

when we hear of no other provision for the Truth than the *long lives* of the Patriarchs; and because *Metbusalem* saw both *Adam* and *Noah*?

If You deny this to have been the case of *Jews* and *Christians*, his Lordship tells you, You are *out of your senses*: if you own this to have been the case of the *Antediluvians*, You are *out of your senses* still. What is to be done? There is but one way; which is, subscribing to his Lordship's Wisdom. But I have something more to say of this pretended INCONSISTENCY. — “Can any man in his senses
“believe that a Tradition, derived
“from God himself, should be lost in
“so FEW generations, and so soon
“after the Deluge?” — How *few*, and how *soon*, I beseech your Lordship? I am not captious: I have a special reason for asking. The Chronology, of this period, is not uniform or constant; there is a wide difference in the several bible-accounts: so that I suspect foul play as well as inaccuracy, in your thus putting us off with the vague reckoning of, *so few*, and, *so soon*.

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To be plain, tho' the HEBREW Copy makes it no more than *three hundred* years from the Deluge to Abraham; yet the SAMARITAN-PENTATEUCH, the SEPTUAGINT, and JOSEPHUS, reckon about a *thousand*: time more than sufficient to sink *the greatest part of Mankind into Idolatry and Polytheism, so early as the days of Serug*. And here lies the difficulty, the best Chronologers agree in preferring the *Samaritan, the Septuagint and Josephus, to the Hebrew Copy*.—But I forget myself: His Lordship has “a thorough contempt
“for the whole business of the Learned
“lives of SCALIGER, BOCHART, PETA-
“VIUS, USHER, and MARSHAM [5]. *To whom (he says) the whole tribe of scholars bow with reverence, and consequently he must have the same contempt for CHRONOLOGY: Which, indeed, he has shewn on more occasions than one; but never to so much advantage, as when he supposed LIVY and TACITUS to have flourished before VIRGIL [6].*

[5] Vol. ii. p. 261, 2.

[6] See Dr. NEWTON'S learned and judicious *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, p. 33.

But

But this by the way only. My business with his Lordship at present lies in another quarter.

For, having thus (in his attempt to shew that the worship of the one true God was not the first religious worship) thrown the BIBLE out of the account, he goes on in this manner:

“ If the *inconsistency* of this account
 “ makes us reject it, we shall find less
 “ reason to believe, on the Authority of
 “ *prophane traditions*, that the UNITY
 “ OF GOD WAS THE PRIMITIVE FAITH
 “ of mankind. Revelations to the Fa-
 “ ther and to the Restorer of the whole
 “ human race might have established this
 “ faith universally: but without Revela-
 “ tion it could not be that of any one
 “ people, till observation and meditation,
 “ till a full and vigorous exercise of Reason
 “ made it such [7].”

The reasoning is truly admirable. The supposed Fact, as we find it in ANTIQUITY, stands thus, According to the BIBLE, the worship of the true God was the first religious worship: GENTILE TRADITION

[7] Vol. iv. p. 20.

[G 2]

says

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says much the same. Between these two Testimonies there is a natural and strange connexion. The *Tradition* appears to rise out of the *Written word*: For, as his Lordship well observes, *nothing but a Revelation could establish this Faith universally, not even amongst one people, till observation and meditation had made it familiar to them.* Here you have the Fact proved in the strongest manner a Fact can be proved; by the concurrence of two Witnesses, coming from different quarters, and strangers to one another's evidence; which yet not only agree, but mutually support each other. What would you more?—Hold a little, says his Lordship, This boasted connection between sacred and prophane History has no foundation: the *sacred* is not to be believed, because *inconsistent*: the *prophane* is not to be believed, because it has no support but what it receives from the *Sacred*. Thus stands his Lordship's reasoning, or, at least, thus it would stand had he urged it to the best advantage. And to this, I have already replied, that his Lordship, in calling the Bible account *inconsistent*, is guilty of an abuse of words: that

that all which his own premisses infer is only an *improbability*; and this *improbability* likewise, he himself fairly contradicts and confutes. But I go farther, and in defence of the Bible account observe, that if what he says be true, That *observation and meditation and a full and vigorous exercise of reason*, are necessary to gain the knowledge of the UNITY, in a *natural* way; and that these qualities are long a coming; it is then highly probable, that the want of this *observation and meditation* when the *unity* was revealed to the *first Man*, might be the occasion of the speedy loss of it. He expressly tells us, that this truth has been subject to as sudden revolutions, when men were in full possession of it, with all their *observation, meditation, and vigorous exercise of reason*, at the height; and twenty other peculiar advantages to boot.

But his Lordship's *general* management of this question, of the FIRST RELIGIOUS WORSHIP, is too curious to be passed over in silence; tho' it properly belong to a foregoing Head. He discusses the point at large, in two separate *Dissertations*:

each of which is so well qualified, and so fitly accommodated to the other, that the second is a complete confutation of the first. How this came about, is not unworthy the Reader's notice. His Lordship does things in order. He had first of all to discredit the Mosaic account of the Creation: And MOSES representing the *worship of the true God as the original Religion*, he sat himself to prove, that Moses was both a *fool* and a *liar*. Soon after, he had another Prophet to bring into contempt, the Prophet ISAIAH, who informs us, that the Jews were the only nation under heaven, which had the worship of the one God; and this truth EUSEBIUS takes upon his word [8]. His Lordship will prove them to be mistaken. And then he ransacks all the dark corners, not of antiquity, but of those moderns who have rendered antiquity still darker: in which he succeeds so well, as to persuade himself that the World, many ages before the foundation of the Jewish Republic, had the knowledge of the one God; nay, that there was no time so

[8] See *Div. Leg.* Vol. i. Part i. p. 165.

early in which the one God was unknown. In a word, he overturns, as we said, and very completely too, every thing he had written on the same subject, in the other Dissertation, against Moses. But as all this is directly levelled at the Author of the *Divine Legation of Moses*, I leave that Writer to do his own argument justice as he shall find himself able.

5. I will now, Sir, give you one of his Lordship's *palmary* arguments against REVELATION.

“ Can he be less than MAD who boasts
 “ a REVELATION superadded to REASON,
 “ to supply the defects of it, and who
 “ superadds REASON to REVELATION to
 “ supply the defects of this too, at the
 “ same time? THIS IS MADNESS OR THERE
 “ IS NO SUCH THING INCIDENT TO OUR
 “ NATURE [9].”

Now as every man, who believes REVELATION, was in these circumstances, his Lordship (and reason good) concluded the MADNESS to be *universal*; and none but himself in their senses: and standing thus alone he has thought proper to give us frequent notice of this ex-

[9] Vol. iv. p. 172.

traordinary case [10], *Insanire me aiunt, ultro cum ipsi insaniant*. But if he will needs reduce mankind to this sad alternative, I shall make no scruple to vindicate our common nature, be it never so much at his Lordship's expence. For, as to the body of mankind, who "hold that
 " Revelation was superadded to Reason,
 " to supply the defects of Reason; and that
 " Reason was at the same time superadded
 " to Revelation to supply the defects of Re-
 " velation," I am so far from seeing in them any of those unfavourable symptoms, his Lordship speaks of, that I think, whoever had done otherwise had deserved, (at least, on the principles of his Lordship's rigid justice) to be sent to Bedlam. Indeed some, for so doing, have been actually sent thither. For what, for the most part, are the *religious* inhabitants of that place, but such, who, having superadded Revelation to supply the defects of Reason, WOULD NOT SUPERADD REASON to supply the defects of Revelation; but were for making the *Laws of the Gospel* the sole rule of all *civil* as well as of *religious* conduct.

[10] Vol. iv. p. 316—353—377.

Let us consider how the case truly stands.

The Religionist, his Lordship says, boasts, that *Revelation* was *superadded* to *Reason*, to *supply the defects* of Reason. Very well. Reason then is the first Building; and Revelation, a *superaddition* to it. Revelation meddles not with the work of Reason, but supplies us with new truths, where Reason stops short. And why was this done?—For the sake of an ADEQUATE RULE OF LIFE. Is Reason *alone* this rule?—Then the *superaddition* of Revelation was not wanted. Is Revelation alone the rule?—Then Reason was mended and improved to no purpose. The ADEQUATE RULE therefore is composed of BOTH. But if so, When Revelation has been added to Reason to supply the defects of Reason, must not Reason be added to Revelation to supply the defects of Revelation? Must not two things, thus related, be mutually applied to aid one another's wants? Reason is the foundation; Revelation is the superstructure. It is agreed the superstructure is necessary to *perfect* the foundation. Must it not be owned

owned too, that the foundation is as necessary to *bear* the superstructure?

But, what is more, it is the GOSPEL itself, and not *artificial Theology*, which prescribes this conduct to it's Followers. For the *Gospel* being to serve (as is confessed) for a superaddition to the first building of *Natural Religion*, it delivers no complete system of moral Law, (for which it is so often reproached by his Lordship) because the general parts of that system are to be found in *Natural Religion*. For this defect, if it be one, St. Paul has pointed out the remedy, the study of *natural Religion*, from whence, together with the *Gospel*, such a complete system may be collected. "Finally, " Brethren, whatsoever things are true, " whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, " whatsoever things are of good report; " If there be any virtue, if there be any " praise, think on these things [1]." What then is the scheme of true CHRISTIANITY, but *the superadding Revelation to Reason to supply the defects of it; and*

[1] Phil. iv. 8.

the superadding Reason to Revelation to supply the defects of this too at the same time?

Indeed, was REVELATION only a REPUBLICATION OF THE RELIGION OF NATURE, his Lordship's charge, tho' extravagantly urged, would appear to have some foundation. For then *Revelation* must be supposed to be *Religion of nature*, restored and perfected: And then to recur back to *Natural Religion* to rectify *Revelation*, after Revelation had been introduced to rectify Natural Religion, would have, tho' none of the marks of *madness*, which consists in arguing consequentially from *false* principles, yet great symptoms of *folly*, which consists in arguing like his Lordship, from the *true*. But he owns Christianity to be founded on the Principle of REDEMPTION. Indeed he is as variable in this, as in most other points, and as often represents it to be *a republication of the Religion of Nature*: therefore, as we have all along made the best of his *Contradictions*, e'en let *him* do the same; for it seems not fit, he should be debarred any advantages of his own providing.

But

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But let us set his Lordship's argument in another light; and turn from his *Philosophic* to his *Legislative* Character; and suppose him to reason thus, (for change but the terms, and the reasoning will hold just as well in *civil* as in *theologic* matters.) "Can he be less than mad
 " who boasts a *system of civil Laws* super-
 " added to the *natural*, to supply the de-
 " fects of it; and who superadds the *na-*
 " *tural* to the *civil*, to supply the defects
 " of this too, at the same time?" Now look, what figure the Politician would make, who should thus dictate to his Pupils, even such a one does our noble Theologian make in dictating to all mankind.

Amongst the numerous absurdities in this famous argument, I don't know if it be worth while to take notice of one in the expression; for as it seems not to be committed with design, it hardly deserves the name of a sophism; and that is, the repetition of the word SUPERADDS: for tho', after the superaddition of Revelation to Reason, Reason may be said to be *joined* to Revelation; it can never, I think, be said to be *superadded* to it. Because this

2

would

would be setting the two Laws on one another's shoulders, and making each become top and bottom in its turn; and this, after he had owned Reason to be the *foundation*; and Revelation, the *superstructure*.

6. Another of his Lordship's *general* objections to *Revelation*, is as follows:

“ It is not, (he says) in any degree,
 “ so agreeable to the notions of infinite
 “ wisdom that God should deal out his
 “ Revelations BY PARCELS, instead of
 “ making a system of moral Law, when
 “ he created moral agents, that might
 “ answer his WHOLE purpose, in all cir-
 “ cumstances of time, place, and persons;
 “ JUST AS HE MADE a physical system of
 “ Laws for the other part, the inanimate
 “ part of his Creation [2].”

Now with his Lordship's good leave, I am bold to think the contrary to be more probable: and that too on those very principles of analogy, which his Lordship employs, to prove it less probable. He argues against the likelihood of God's giving the *moral Law*, IN PARCELS, because the *Physical Law* was given AT ONCE. This plainly proceeds on a supposition that

[2] Vol. v. p. 544.

the nature of the two systems is the same; and that there is the like constancy and regularity in the *moral* as in the *Physical*: For unless there be the same tendency to order, or to disorder, in two general Systems, the means of governing them can never be the same. But obedience to their respective Laws, in these two systems, is not the same: for *passive* MATTER, the subject of the *physical*, obeys, with small irregularities, the Laws impressed upon it by it's Creator; but an *active* MIND, the subject of the *moral*, is perpetually deviating from that rule of right which the Governor of the world prescribed for its observance.

The method, therefore, of governing in the two Systems must needs, according to all our ideas of wisdom, be very different. And the difference which our senses tell us *has* been observed, is that which natural reason teaches us to conclude, *should* be observed; namely, to a *physical* system (whose subject would constantly and invariably obey) a Law given AT ONCE: and to a *moral* system (whose subject inclined it to frequent disorders) a Law given IN PARCELS; which might,
 4 from

from time to time, reform those disorders as they arose.

7. I shall conclude my specimen with his Lordship's *more particular* objections to his Bible.

Speaking of the civil punishment of Idolatry, under the Jewish Theocracy, he says, "God himself was the LEGISLATOR. The Citizens, therefore, of that commonwealth, who apostatized, were proceeded against as traytors and rebels, guilty of no less than high-treason. Let it be so. *The objections, of injustice and cruelty, to those Laws will remain in their full force, and be of more weight to prove them HUMAN, than all these hypotheses to prove them divine. God was KING, and idolatry was no less than high treason; no objection therefore can lye against the Punishment of it. None certainly, but every objection to the MANNER and DEGREE in which this punishment was to be inflicted, stands good [3].*"

Here his Lordship, to make amends, as it were, for his frequent *denial of the right* without understanding the Case, has,

[3] Vol. v. p. 193.

for

for once, ventured to *agree to it*, upon the same terms. It hath been said, “ that God “ being KING of the Jews, idolatry was “ high treason.” To this, his Lordship condescends. But to shew us how well he understood the principle on which it stands, he affirms that God’s being their LEGISLATOR made Idolatry high treason. As if the bare giving Laws to a people conferred the MAGISTRACY on the Giver; or as if there could be *high treason* against any but the *supreme civil Magistrate*. But you shall see more of his talent for PHILOSOPHIC POLITICS, if it fall in my way (as perhaps it will) to speak of his abilities in his own trade. It is his *reasoning* on the subject, not his general *knowledge* of it (things rarely to be found together in his Lordship’s *Essays*) that I now propose to examine.

You observe then, he owns Idolatry, in Judea, to be high Treason; and the Punishment of it (which is every where *capital*) to be just. But the *manner* and *degree* of that punishment he pronounces, both *unjust* and *cruel*. Was this like a philosophic Legislator!—When the question is of the

the *justice* or *injustice* of a public Law, every man of common sense, and endowed with the instinctive knowledge of *right and wrong*, may pass a true judgment on it; because it stands on the unalterable nature of things: in *human* Laws, on the relation between Magistrate and Subject; in *divine* Laws, on the relation between God and man; and in a System of Laws, like the Mosaic, on one and the other, in conjunction. Now his Lordship, in passing judgment on the case, upon these principles, pronounces the Law against Idolatry to be right and equitable. What can be more honourable for this part of the Jewish System? It is Lord Bolingbroke who decrees in favour of it; and is aided in his judgment by the plainest and clearest principles. Hold, says his Lordship; take this along with you, *Tho' no objection can lie against the PUNISHMENT, yet every objection lies against the MANNER and DEGREE of it.*

Let us see then whether the latter part of this decree stands upon the same plain and clear principles with the former.

[H]

To

To judge truly of the *manner* and *degree* of a Punishment, I apprehend, more is requisite, than to judge of the Punishment itself; it requires an intimate acquaintance with the People to whom this Law against idolatry was given; their manners, tempers, dispositions, prejudices, and situation; In a word, the knowledge of a thousand circumstances, which none but the Law-giver himself could perfectly understand; certainly, not this Politician of Yesterday. So that, it appears, the justice or injustice of the *manner* and *degree* of a punishment is not determinable on those simple and steady principles, which determine the justice or injustice of the *punishment* itself, but on others, which take their different natures of *right and wrong* from many shifting circumstances; from the degree of *temptation* in the object; from the degree of *prejudice* in the affections; of *propensity* to the Crime; of *malignity* to the System; and from other various considerations, of which only those who are perfect in the knowledge of antient manners in general, and of the Jewish People's in particular, can form any tolerable ideas.

This

This is enough to shew the folly of cavilling at the *manner* and *degree* of a punishment, after the punishment itself is allowed to be just and right. But this is not all; the very allowance of the *punishment* implies a presumption in favour of the *manner* and *degree*. The *Punishment*, examined, on plain and clear principles, is found to be just: admit now, the *manner* and *degree* of it to be doubtful, for want of knowledge sufficient to shew us the *necessity*, and consequently, the *justice* of them. Is it not fair to infer, that the Lawgiver, who observed the rule of justice in the punishment itself, observed it likewise in the *manner* and *degree* of the punishment?

But his Lordship's cavil at the *degree*, will, perhaps, deserve our more particular notice. *Moses* makes the punishment, capital, but with no unusual circumstances of cruelty attending the kind of death, more than we see inflicted for high treason in all the Countries of Europe at present. The instance of *Naboth* shews it to have been attended with *confiscation*. This circumstance perhaps might have disgusted his Lordship. But in a case, where he was

personally prejudiced, he should have mistrusted his own judgment ; he should have tried the force of those arguments, by which a great Lawyer had lately evinced, that *forfeitures for high treason* is perfectly just and equitable.

8. The noble Lord, haranguing on the conditions of *Historical Authenticity*, delivers this, for one of the chief, “ That
 “ the Facts, the principal Facts at least,
 “ be confirmed by COLLATERAL TESTIMONY. By collateral testimony (says
 “ he) I mean the testimony of those who
 “ had no common interest of Country, of
 “ Religion, or of Profession, to disguise
 “ or falsify the truth [4].”

This condition of *historical Authenticity* will be easily agreed to ; as well as his definition of *collateral testimony* : And the quotations of JOSEPHUS and EUSEBIUS, from *Egyptians, Phœnicians, Chaldeans and Greeks*, will, without doubt, be urged by the defenders of Religion, as such *collateral testimony*, where the witnesses *had no common interest of Country, of Religion, or of Profession to disguise or falsify the truth.*— Pardon me, says his Lordship, “ Jo-

[4] Vol. iii. p. 281.

“ SEPHUS indeed attempts to support his
 “ history [the Bible] by *collateral testi-*
 “ *monies*, those of *Egyptians, Phœnicians,*
 “ *Chaldeans*, and even *Greeks*. But these
 “ testimonies, were they never so full to
 “ his purpose, would CEASE TO BE COL-
 “ LATERAL testimonies, by COMING
 “ THRO’ HIM, who had a common inter-
 “ est of Country and Religion to disguise
 “ and to falsify the truth [5].”

This seems a little hard, that, when our advantages of defence are, in his Lordship’s opinion, so rare, the few we have, should be lost the very moment they are gained. JOSEPHUS has no sooner seized this important mark of *historical authenticity*, but it slips thro’ his fingers as he is urging it: and, what is still more extraordinary, BECAUSE he urges it. The *Book of life* and the *Seat of life*, it seems, have this property in common —

“ Like following LIFE thro’ Creatures you
 “ dissect,

“ You lose it in the moment you detect.

For, as Tully well observes, all human things are given to change. “ *Corpora nostra non*

[5] Vol. iii. p. 281.

“ novimus. Itaque *Medici* ipsi, quorum
 “ intererat ea nosse, aparuerunt ut vide-
 “ rentur: nec eo tamen aiunt *EMPIRICI*
 “ notiora esse illa, quia possit fieri ut pate-
 “ facta et detecta, *MUTENTUR.*”

But to illustrate this wonderful reason-
 ing, let us make a supposition, or rather,
 let us lay down a *fact*, that APION had
 insisted on this very *condition of historical*
authenticity; and that JOSEPHUS, who de-
 fended the Bible against him, agreed to
 put the issue of the debate upon it: And
 so produced the testimony of *Egyptians*,
Phœnicians, *Chaldeans*, and even *Greeks*,
 to support the sacred story. Thus far, his
 Lordship will allow that matters went
 fairly on, and the argument had its pro-
 per efficacy. JOSEPHUS quoted from the
 Works of *Pagan* writers, transmitted to
 him thro' the hands of *Pagan* readers;
 and being engaged with a clear-sighted
 Adversary, without doubt, quoted exactly.
 The *historical authenticity* of the BIBLE
 therefore was established on the terms his
 Adversary required.

How then comes it to pass, that an ar-
 gument which was once conclusive, has
 now lost its force? What was truth in that

Age must be truth in this; or not only the *Authenticity*, but the very *being* of History will become precarious.

Do these pagan testimonies, in running thro' the chanel of JOSEPHUS, become *polluted*, as soon as the original books cease to exist? No, says his Lordship; but they become *suspected*. Indeed, if he could prove that JOSEPHUS destroyed them; or was aiding in their destruction; or had a fore-knowledge of their loss, his Lordship might have some reason to *suspect*. But to talk of suspicion, merely because JOSEPHUS was *interested* that the quotations should be to his purpose, is so vague an objection, as shews that such an answerer will never be without his cavils. Were the Originals still in being, he would then *suspect* that these passages had been foisted in by some Jewish or Christian Impostor; at least, by some body or other, who *had a common interest of Country, of Religion, or of Profession, to disguise or falsify the truth*. In short, he would *suspect* all the World rather than give up what he had once maintained.

To shew you, this is said neither at random nor in malice, consider his Lordship's

[H 4] conduct

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conduct where this *collateral testimony* is
circumstanced as he himself requires.

The defenders of Religion say, that
the PENTATEUCH, which represents Mo-
SES as the Leader and Legislator of the Israel-
ites, is supported by that *evidence* which
his Lordship calls *collateral*. What says
his good Lordship to this? "Be it so, that
" the Israelites had a Leader and Legisla-
" tor called Moses is proved by the con-
" sent of *Foreign*, whom I call *collateral*
" *Evidences*. But surely it will not fol-
" low, that this man CONVERSED WITH
" THE SUPREME BEING FACE TO FACE,
" which these *collateral* Witnesses do not
" affirm [6]"

Thus you see, these *collateral evi-
dences* will always be rejected, whether
they tell their story *viva voce*, or whether
their depositions be taken down by such
who avail themselves of their testimony.

——But, *they do not say that this man
conversed with the supreme Being face to
face*. Would his Lordship have believed
them, if they did? Why, no, says he, I
must needs reckon such relations amongst
the Miracles of the Greek and Roman

[6] Vol. iii. p. 282.

Historians. Very well, my Lord. And does not this shew, that if the *collateral evidence* speak but to Moses' Legislation and civil rule, they speak to every thing they are called for. — It is doubted, for instance, whether Livy relates truly the operations of such or such a campaign against Hannibal : Polybius, Plutarch, and Appian, are produced as *collateral evidences*, but they speak not a word of those *Prodigies* which the Roman Historian relates at large.

9. But his hate to Moses is immortal : Notwithstanding all his Lordship's pretended contempt of him, as a Legislator, it looks as if, in his heart, he thought him a formidable Rival. Archbishop Tillotson had attempted to defend the *Authenticity* of his writings, on this footing, *that the unbeliever would only give the same credit to them which he gives to every civil Historian*. His Lordship owns the demand to be reasonable ; and is willing to try his Brother Legislator, on these terms.

In order to this, he observes, “ That
 “ one condition of the Authenticity of
 “ any human History, and such alone
 “ (says he) we are to consider in this
 “ place,

“ place, is, that it contains nothing re-
 “ *pugnant to the experience of mankind.*
 “ Things repugnant to this experience are
 “ to be found in many that pass however
 “ for authentic ; in that of LIVY, for in-
 “ stance : but then these incredible anec-
 “ dotes stand by themselves, as it were,
 “ and the history, may go on without
 “ them. But this is not the case of the
 “ Pentateuch, *nor of the other Books of the*
 “ *Old Testament.* Incredible anecdotes are
 “ not mentioned seldom and occasionally
 “ in them : THE WHOLE HISTORY IS
 “ FOUNDED ON SUCH, it consists of little
 “ else, and IF IT WERE NOT A HISTORY
 “ OF THEM, IT WOULD BE A HISTORY
 “ OF NOTHING [7].”

His Lordship's objection to the *Authen-*
ticity of the Bible as a *civil history*, is, that
 it is full of *Miracles* : and, supposing the
 Defender of Revelation ready to reply,
 “ So likewise is the History of *Livy* ; and
 “ yet that does not destroy its credit ;”
 he obviates the reply extremely well.
 There is an essential difference, says he,
 between the Miracles of MOSES and of
 LIVY. The Roman Historian's are de-

[7] Vol. iii. p. 279.

tached pieces ; they make no part of the subject, and are extraneous to it : But the Miracles of the Jewish writer are intimately related to all the civil affairs, and make a necessary and inseparable part ; *the whole history is founded on them.* Take away LIVY's miracles, and the train of civil events *goes on* just as well *without them* : Take away MOSES's, and his history becomes a heap of confusion, or, more properly, *it is a history of nothing.*

I am proud of any opportunity to acknowledge the obligations which Learning or Religion have to his Lordship ; I only wish the occasions had been more frequent. As it is, I am unwilling to let the first that occurred to me pass by without my thanks, lest the occasion should never return.

In a word, his Lordship's observation on the *difference* between the MIRACLES in MOSES and in LIVY, is solid and masterly. And *this difference*, let me observe, is a certain mark, tho' not of that *civil authenticity* which the good Archbishop's argument requires, Yet of that *divine original* which the SCRIPTURES arrogate to themselves.

It

It is the specious, but trite, objection of infidelity against the *Miracles* recorded there, that those remote ages were full of prodigies and portents. Why then, says the Freethinker, should we believe the *incredible anecdotes* of MOSES, rather than those of LIVY? For a very good reason, replies his Lordship, we find them in a history essentially different from that of *Livy*. Take away *his* miracles, together with all those of the other pagan Historians, and the Story stands just as it did. But take away the BIBLE-MIRACLES, and you reduce the civil part of the relation to a state of inexplicable confusion.

Again, one of the least hacknied, and indeed least futile, observations I have ever heard urged against the Bible, (and it has been urged to me) is the WANT OF A NECESSARY CONNEXION between the *civil* and the *miraculous* parts of that History. Here again his Lordship comes in, in support of Revelation, and says, that this *necessary connexion* is evident to all, for that nothing can be made of the *civil* part, if you take away the *miraculous*. Which sure is a *connexion* of some strength.

Thus

Thus has his Lordship, before he was aware, in attempting to destroy the *civil authenticity* of the Bible, supported its *divine original*. And this good, tho' undesigned, ought however to be acknowledged. But you may think, perhaps, that a matter of this importance, is not here sufficiently developed. Without doubt, it is not. This is a long story; and as I pretend to have supplied this DESIDERATUM, *The want of a connexion between the miraculous and civil part of the sacred History*, I shall refer you to the proper place, where you may see it at large.

In the mean time give me leave to go on with his Lordship; And proceed to the proposition itself, That the *Bible Miracles destroy its credit as a civil history*. Now this I apprehend to be a pure piece of chicane. Let us see how the matter stands between the Archbishop and his Lordship.

BELIEVERS say, the Bible-History is the history of a Dispensation really divine: UNBELIEVERS say, it is the history of one only pretended; and endeavour to support their assertion, by shewing it to have the civil
marks

marks of falsehood and imposture. Here the Archbishop steps forward and says, that he is willing the authenticity of the Bible should be tried on the Standard of a CIVIL History. Agreed, replies his Lordship; And what say you now to MIRACLES? Say? Why, that *miracles* are out of the question; and come not into consideration till the DIVINE authority be contended for. When we agreed to consider the Bible as a *civil history only*, it was not for *truth's*, but for *argument's* sake. If we held the Writers of it to be mere civil Historians, the *miracles*, recorded in it, might be fairly urged against us; and urged with advantage, if indeed there be that difference between them and *Livy's*, which is pretended. But as we hold the Writers were indeed inspired, You, my Lord, have shewn us, by that difference, to justify the *miraculous part*, whenever their inspiration becomes a question between us. In the mean time, stick to your point, and never fancy you can make our Divines the dupes of so pitiful a Sophism. You have drawn us, while we argue a particular *question* with you, to exclude one of our principles; and then urge against *that question*, a FACT, which

which stands upon the excluded principle, and so cannot be defended while the principle remains excluded: Which is just, as if, when you had persuaded us to tie our *hands*, on promise that the question should be only about the *use of our feet*, You should object to us our inability of laying fast hold upon you. Your own words, my Lord, where you push this imaginary advantage, best detect the fraud and imposture of your proceeding. “The
 “ Old Testament (you say) is founded in
 “ incredibility. Almost every event con-
 “ tained in it, is incredible in its causes and
 “ consequences; and I must except or
 “ reject the whole, as I said just now.
 “ No one, EXCEPT HERE AND THERE A
 “ DIVINE, will presume to say, that the
 “ histories of the old Testament are con-
 “ formable to the experience of Mankind,
 “ and the natural course of things.”

Except here and there a Divine, do you say? Nor they neither, I assure your Lordship. What they say is this, That every thing of a mere *civil nature* in the Old Testament has all the marks of *civil authenticity*. This is all they said,
 and

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and all they meant to say. And, on what
good grounds they said it, give me leave
to shew your Lordship a little more at
large.

The Bible tells us, the world was cre-
ated in time ; and the time at no immense
distance, as several fabulous relations of
pagan Antiquity had pretended. — And
does not the late invention of Arts prove
that the Bible says nothing but what ap-
pears very probable?

It says, the Earth was overflowed by a
deluge of waters.—And do not the con-
tents of its surface demonstrate that such
has been its fate?

The Bible says, again, that the *Found-
ers of Cities* were the *inventers of arts* ;
that the first *civil* Governments arose from
the *Domestic*, and composed small Mo-
narchies.—And do not experience and the
natural course of things support this *credi-
ble anecdote*?

The Pentateuch informs us, that the Is-
raelites, after a long abode in Egypt, went
out as a great People, and in an hostile
manner, to seek new habitations.—Of this
your Lordship may have both external and
inter-

internal evidence. The *external* are the Egyptian, Phœnician, Chaldee, and Greek Writers, quoted by Josephus and Eusebius: the *internal* is the whole Jewish RITUAL.

Scripture relates the defection of the ten tribes to Idolatry, their transportation to a foreign land, and the repeopling that part of Judea with a new Colony of Idolaters.—And of the truth of all this, we say, the Samaritan Pentateuch, yet existing, is a strong and amazing Witness.

These, my Lord, are a very few of the numerous instances which might be produced to shew the *civil Authenticity* of the Bible. And on these and such as these, the Clergy's challenge stood, when they undertook to prove *that Authenticity*, on the common principles of historic credit. And further, or other than this, they neither said nor meant to say. They understood, as well as your Lordship, the difference between Moses's miracles and those of Livy; that the Jewish History, unlike to all other, is *wholly founded on miracles*. But they distinguished better than your Lordship, of Moses' civil History: which consists of two parts; the peculiar

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Dispensation to that people, and their
transactions with their neighbours; and
the occasional story of the rest of mankind.

It is the first only to which his Lordship's
observation can be applied, *viz.* that the
civil cannot be separated from the *miracu-
lous* part: Nor did the clergy attempt it.
It was the other, we must needs suppose,
to which the Archbishop's challenge refer-
red: And I have shewn just above, that
we are able to make it good.

Thus would I have reasoned with his
Lordship; and thus, in fact was he rea-
soned with, (as I may have occasion to tell
you in my next *Letter*) but he was deaf to
all advise, tho' it was given in private,
and to save his memory from the dis-
grace of these portentous ESSAYS. What
remained was to expose them, as they de-
served, to the laughter and contempt of
mankind.

And now, Sir, I think I have pretty well
discharged my general promise to You.
When one looks back upon this strange
collection of poor meagre, disjointed, rea-
soning, tied together, in a sort, by his
System, and swelled up, to look like sub-
stance, by the tumor of his Rhetoric, it
puts

puts us in mind of the old story of Prometheus ; and we see his Lordship insulting the sanctity of the PUBLIC, just as that most antient of Freethinkers did the ALTAR OF JUPITER ; on which, as the Poets tell us, he offered up to the King of Gods and Men, A HEAP OF DRY BONES COVERED WITH FAT.

I am, &c.

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most ancient of Prometheus and the At-
lantides; on which, as the Po-
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